EGYPTOLOGICAL MEMOIRS

ROYAL BRONZE STATUARY FROM ANCIENT EGYPT

With Special Attention to the Kneeling Pose

Marsha Hill



BRILL · STYX

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EGYPTOLOGICAL MEMOIRS
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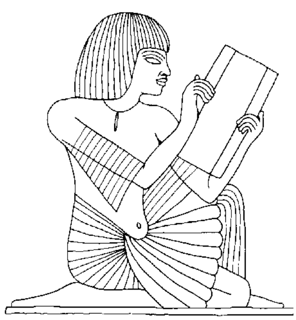
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2004

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hill, Marsha. 1949–
Royal bronze statuary from ancient Egypt : with special attention to the kneeling pose / Marsha Hill.
p. cm. — (Egyptological memoirs, ISSN 1387-2710 ; 3)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 90-04-12399-7
1. Bronze sculpture, Ancient-Egypt. 2. Small sculpture, Egyptian. 3. Kings and rulers in art. 4. Posture in art. I. Title. II. Series.

NB142.8.E48H55 2003
732′.8–dc22

2003055915

ISSN 1387–2710
ISBN 90 04 12399 7

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is a considerably revised version of my dissertation presented at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York. I am grateful to many individuals for their help.

My first thanks go to my original adviser the late Bernard V. Bothmer who felt strongly that important advances could be made toward dating anthropomorphic bronzes and, thus, constructing a history of bronze statuary by paying attention to groups that presented relatively accessible features. He identified a number of those groups, including royal bronzes, and through much of his long career collected data and photographs towards such an endeavor. These formed the nucleus of this study.

Two other persons were of very material importance. David O'Connor served as my adviser during the writing of the thesis and contributed a great deal to the articulation and clarification of the arguments laid out there. My colleague at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Deborah Schorsch of the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, has a long-standing interest in ancient metallurgy including particularly Egyptian bronzes, and has been an invaluable observer and interlocutor.

I have been very fortunate to be a part of the Egyptian Art Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, having constant access to its collections and enjoying the benefit of exchange with and support from my colleagues there, especially Dorothea Arnold, who also brought many important bronzes within my reach, James Allen and Catharine Roehrig. Bill Barrette worked hard to maximize and harmonize the scans of a disparate set of photographs.

I hope I have adequately acknowledged my indebtedness to the work of many scholars in the text of the book, although I bear the responsibility for the observations and interpretations put forward here. In addition, many museum curators, Egyptologists,and other experts have provided access to objects and archives, called objects to my attention, and helpfully discussed issues: Willem M. van Haarlem, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam; Nikolaos Kaltsas, Director, and former curator Eleni Tourna, National Archaeological Museum, Athens; Peter Lacovara, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, and also previously at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; Melinda Hartwig, Georgia State University, Atlanta; Terry Drayman-Weisser and Christianne Henry, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; Cathleen Keller, University of California at Berkeley; Dietrich Wildung, Karla Kroeper, Frank Maron, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin; Rita Freed and Larry Berman, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Richard Fazzini, to whom I am also very grateful for his encouragement and for bringing my manuscript to the attention of Jacobus van Dijk, Edna Russmann, and Madeleine Cody, Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn; Mamdouh Eldamaty, Adel Mahmoud, and May Trad, Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Lucilla Burn, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Harry Smith and Sue Davies, Egypt Exploration Society North Saqqara Expedition, Cambridge; Stephen Harvey, Oriental Institute,

Chicago, and formerly when at the Walters Art Museum; Emily Teeter, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago; Elizabeth Goring and Lesley Ann Liddiard, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; Mogens Jørgensen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen and Trine Wisemann of the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen; Penny Wilson, University of Durham, when previously at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Birgit Schlick Nolte for the Liebeighaus, Frankfurt am Main; Jean-Luc Chappaz, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; George Ortiz, Geneva; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, Kestner Museum, Hannover; Karl-J. Seyfried, Ägyptologisches Institut, Heidelberg; Eleni Vassilika and Bettina Schmitz, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, and the former when previously at the Fitzwilliam; Daphna Ben Tor, Israel Museum, Jerusalem; Robert Cohon, Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City; Maarten Raven, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Vivian Davies, Jeffrey Spencer and Nigel Strudwick, British Museum, London; Carol Andrews, London, when formerly at the British Museum; Nicholas Reeves, London; Giselle Pierini, Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne, Marseille; Claire Derriks and Marie-Cecile Bruweir, Musée de Mariemont, Morlanwelz, Belgium; Sylvia Schoske and Alfred Grimm, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich; Donald Hansen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univeristy, New York; Ogden Goelet, New York University, New York; Richard Keresey, Sotheby's, New York; Barbara Porter, New York; Laura Siegel, Robert Haber Ancient Art, New York; Paul Stanwick, New York; Helen Whitehouse, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Diane Bergman, Griffith Librarian, Sackler Library, Oxford; Iréne Aghion, Bibliothéque Nationale de France, Paris; Christiane Ziegler and Elisabeth Delange, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Jean Yoyotte, Paris; David Silverman and Jennifer Wegner, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia; J. J. Fiechter, Préverenges (Switzerland); Luis Fernando Dias Duarte and Tania Andrade Lima, Museo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro; Sidney Goldstein, Museum of Art, St. Louis; Andrey Bolshakov, Hermitage, St. Petersburg; Anna-Maria Donadoni-Roveri, the late Enrichetta Leospo, and Valeria Cortese, Museo Egizio, Turin; Helmut Satzinger, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Frida Tchacos, Galerie Nefer, Zurich.

Collectors who generously gave access to their artworks have been cited according to their wishes in the catalog.

Finally, I would like to thank Geerd Haayer and Jacobus van Dijk for their generous expertise and patience.

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THE STUDY OF BRONZE STATUARY

Bronze statuary, important as it is in the scope of the art preserved from ancient Egypt and despite advances in technological and compositional studies, is poorly understood as a whole and has proven particularly intractable to stylistic and chronological investigations as is discussed below. The overall aim of this particular study is to exploit to the greatest degree possible the inscriptional, stylistic and iconographic clues offered by the corpus of small bronze statuary of kings to carefully analyze and organize this large subgroup of bronze statuary, and thus, I hope, to make a foundational contribution to the further stylistic and chronological analysis of bronze statuary. A corollary result is a clearer understanding of the artistic milieu bronzes represent and the stylistic complexity we face in dealing with bronze temple statuary.

A second objective is a more precise understanding of the role of small royal bronze statuary and its evolution. The standard kneeling type, defined further below, as the most frequently occurring and as presenting very particular clues, was the natural focus. A further outcome of this specific attention is that some degree of the original meaning and aura of small temple statuary can be recaptured.

Before proceeding with the historical investigations, where relevant stylistic studies will be analyzed in detail by historical periods and so do not figure here by way of introduction, and, thereafter, to the discussion of role, it is necessary to review the terminology and status of the study of bronze statuary, and then to introduce and briefly describe the kneeling pose under consideration.

Bronze statuary

Bronze statuary as a type requires some discussion. It presents a) certain material features that play a role in analysis of particular examples and of the organization of the corpus as a whole and so require explication, and b) particular problems of analysis and study which should be reviewed and a history of investigation which should be noted in order to contextualize the present study.

a *production and general characteristics of bronze statuary*

Representations of Egyptian metal statuary workshops exist, but only sparse archaeological documentation is preserved. Still, ancient methods can be understood in large degree by study of ancient examples and by analogy with more modern methods.[1] Very briefly, copper alloy statuary could be formed by hammering or casting. The

[1] The principles of bronze statuary casting and observations relevant to understanding ancient workshop techniques are summarized in a number of sources, most recently by Jack Ogden who considers all

latter was the method for most Egyptian bronze statuary. Casting was done by the lost-wax method, that is by forming a casting mold around a wax model, which may have been sometimes formed from combinations of premolded wax elements, that could then be melted out and replaced by molten metal. The process resulted in solid-cast statuary/elements or – if the molten metal was poured around a non-refractory core material – hollow-cast statuary/elements. In point of fact, the Egyptians usually did not remove core material. Statuary could be integral or composed of separately cast elements joined by a variety of methods.

Several alloys were used for statuary throughout Egyptian history. In order of earlier to later use, but with much overlapping of chronological ranges, they are: copper, possibly arsenical copper, bronze with variable tin content, and leaded bronzes.[2] The shift from copper to bronze for statuary, at least, was in itself rather gradual, owing to artisanal and economic considerations.[3] In the absence of compositional analyses and especially for the early transitional period or to refer to the corpus of copper/bronze statuary as a whole, the term cupreous is the strictly accurate one, though bronze is used regularly for the New Kingdom and later, even in the absence of compositional analyses, both for historical reasons and because by far the great preponderance of statuary from those periods is of bronze. Less common alloys are discussed in the chapters below as relevant.

Copper and bronze, which certainly retained a rich coloration and metallic luster longer in ancient environmental conditions than they do now, give important coloristic and tonal possibilities. As further enhancement, they might be partially or completely clad with gold/silver sheet or leaf, or inlaid with other metals, stones or glass. Moreover, in contrast to Egyptian stone statuary and like wooden statuary, bronze has a purer and more emphatic profile which makes it more suited to the suggestion of action or movement.

Three main roles for bronze statuary can be recognized, though, of course, they are by no means fully discrete nor can the list be exhaustive. Large bronzes by their size, quality and the technical complexity of their manufacture were important images of the person depicted, usually a king or high officials; some examples certainly stood in chapels at temples, but the placement of most is not known. Smaller bronzes might sometimes serve similar purposes. Small royal statuary, however, is dominated by types – most significant and most numerous among them kneeling kings – clearly

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aspects of ancient metallurgy in "Metals," and were studied particularly by Roeder, *Bronzewerke* and *Bronzefiguren*. The following remarks about the particularities of Egyptian bronze working owe much to my discussions with Deborah Schorsch, Conservator, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

2 Vassilika, "Bronze Sculpture" summarizes the situation on p. 296.

3 Bronze was certainly known from the Old Kingdom and specific instances of bronze statuary are known from the Middle Kingdom (for example, at least some items in the Faiyum group of bronzes discussed in chapter 1; bronzes of the period tend, however, to be low tin bronzes, that is with less than 5% tin, as Vassilika points out), while specific instances of copper statuary are known from the New Kingdom and later (for example, the elaborate corn-grinding shawabti of Si-Ese in Brooklyn, acc. no. 37.125 E, datable to the period of Amenhotep III, seems to be copper), and some scholars would even attribute certain leaded bronzes to the Middle Kingdom (e.g., Louvre E16267, Delange, *Catalogue des statues*, p. 253). Virtually any copper statue is in fact a copper alloy statue, given the nature of ancient metal refining. In addition, Pliny (*Natural History* 34) notes that Roman period bronze workers recommended adding scrap metal to a melt as an enhancing factor; the practice of melting down copper/bronze scrap of earlier periods almost certainly existed in Egypt also, and contributes greatly to the blurring of these distinctions.

associated with ritual roles, a topic explored more thoroughly in the chapter on role and function below. Small, relatively indestructible, and lustrous, they would be suitable for conveying an important message through their clearly readable postures. Lastly, bronze enjoyed a great popularity in the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period as a medium for "votive" statuary, generally donated by private persons, and the degree to which small royal bronzes might have also fit in this category is investigated also in the chapter on role.

b *problems and history of the study of bronze statuary in general*[4]

Study of bronze statuary poses particular problems, all of which are dealt with repeatedly and specifically as they relate to bronze kneeling kings in the following chapters, but which it is useful to summarize here.[5] The medium was extremely popular in the Third Intermediate, Late, and Ptolemaic Periods, leaving a very great number of examples requiring analysis and organization. Archaeology, unfortunately, provides very limited assistance in establishing a dating framework because, even when excavated, bronzes derive very largely from deposits of groups of statuary cleared from temples often after an extended use period.[6] Inscriptional analyses offer an important contribution for the Late Period, which will be greater as more examples become known, but, in point of fact, very many bronzes are uninscribed.

Stylistic analysis is particularly complicated. Standards for representations of gods – the area of greatest bronze production – are themselves quite conservative. For royal and private statuary, the stylistic development of stone statuary during the periods of the greatest popularity of bronze statuary is itself quite complicated, because, for example, these are periods of conscious and compounded archaism with two millennia of tradition to draw upon (Third Intermediate Period, Late Period) and ones when stylistic archetypes were complicated in other new and by no means fully understood ways (as, most obviously, during the Ptolemaic Period). Moreover, the relationship of bronze to stone statuary, while often observable, is certainly not an entirely stable one as will become clear; the network of influences operating on bronze statuary has been poorly understood. A final very large problem for bronze studies is that – given the large unorganized corpus of bronzes – outright forgeries,[7] pastiches or reworkings,[8] and regroupings[9] tend to insert themselves unquestioned among the very great numbers of bronzes actually produced anciently, seriously

[4] The following remarks are based heavily on Hill, "Bronze Statuettes," and the general studies cited there and in a number of footnotes below reflect occasionally on the problems enumerated.

[5] Maya Müller, "Kniende König," provides a useful rapid survey of the question of kneeling bronze kings, highlighting the particular problems, but volunteers a somewhat unnecessarily bleak prognosis for the possibility of finding answers.

[6] Appendix 2 lists known and reputed provenances.

[7] Likely forgeries in my view which can be mentioned here include: cat. 242 and probably a group of sizeable bronzes that share a similar style of placid to subdued features, quite large uraeus, and strong forward lean, which are not further enumerated here; cat. 192; probably cat. 260 and its congener cat. 168. Despite the variability of bronzes, odd style (as distinct from simply poor quality), odd attributes, and odd surfaces certainly require further investigation.

[8] One or more of the group of matching (even to "break edges") seated kings (cats. 231 and 234) and animal-headed gods might possibly incorporate elements from the Sais bronze find referenced there; a striding bronze king noted on the art market (cat. 175) has had two different hand configurations (if these are restorations, no indication is given) and may have acquired feet in different appearances.

[9] E.g. cat. 70, 186 and probably 126 and 269.

skewing our perceptions of style and typology.[10]

Until recently the descriptive and analytical studies of Günther Roeder were the only significant systematic work done on bronzes.[11] The wealth of observations and information contained there was typologically and technologically oriented and only incidentally provided historical indications. Roeder's study is the precursor of more recent technological studies and structural analyses.[12] Modern composition studies, though of limited dating use, combine with technological studies and structural analyses to help to refine our understanding of artistic and technical options and the choices made and to establish and evaluate the frequent modern interventions.

Bronze studies in the last fifteen years have profited from increased attention to the general field, including significant review articles dealing with particular periods or the status of the field.[13] Current developments in bronze studies include: new and ongoing archaeological results, such as the excavations of the sanctuary at Samos which produces large and smaller bronzes of private persons and gods, apparently of Third Intermediate through early (?) Saite date, [14] and the pending publication of the excavations in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, including many bronzes and analyzing many kinds of deposits;[15] study of important collections like that announced by the Rijksmuseum in Leiden,[16] or the focused studies undertaken by the Louvre of groups of bronzes including a Saqqara cache, black bronzes, and, in association with the British Museum, large Third Intermediate Period bronze females associated with Karnak;[17] and other more wide-ranging studies of groups of related bronzes such as the late Middle Kingdom examples,[18] Kushite kings,[19] and statues with private inscriptions that elucidate votive practices.[20] Among the studies

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[10] For example, the groupings discussed in the previous note are regularly included in evaluations of bronzes like that by Maya Müller and cat. 126 even forms the occasion for her review of bronze kneeling kings.

[11] Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*.

[12] Present work by Deborah Schorsch, Paul Craddock, and Alessandra Guimlia-Mair is referred to in the text, entries, and bibliography as relevant, and their published studies refer to other current work.

[13] Bernard Bothmer gathered material towards a better understanding of bronze statuettes based on groups which could be analyzed, see Bothmer, "History and chronology." The Third Intermediate Period has been the chief beneficiary: Ziegler, "Les arts du métal;" Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary;" Vassilika, "Bronze Sculpture." A more recent article attempting to summarize the whole history of bronze statuary is Hill, "Bronze Statuettes." The very recent Aubert, *Bronzes et or* is a chronologically and typologically organized survey of a very large number of metal art works known to that author in the literature, in museums, or on the art market; with careful evaluation, it will be of use in more systematic studies of restricted groups.

[14] Jantzen, *Samos* illustrates many Samian Egyptian bronzes; others may be found in field reports for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Samos excavations, and fairly recent discussions of the material in Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary" and Helmut Kyrieleis, "Samos."

[15] Davies and Smith, *Falcon Complex* will deal with a considerable portion of the bronze statuary from the Sacred Animal Necropolis. Other volumes including bronzes are planned.

[16] See Raven, "Catalogue project."

[17] Ziegler, "Jalons" n. 28 announces the study of black bronzes and pp. 34–35 discuss the bronzes from Mariette's Serapeum find at Saqqara with references to her previous work on that group; pertinent studies of the large Third Intermediate Period bronzes include most recently Taylor, "Hollow-Cast Bronze" and Delange, "Bronze méconnu."

[18] See particularly chapter 2 and the articles on the Faiyum group by Alessandra Guimlia-Mair with others.

[19] Russmann, *Representation*.

[20] De Meulenaere, "Bronzes de donation;" Thiem, "Brief Note" lists many bronze statuettes of all types securely dated by inscriptions. See further references to inscriptional studies in the chapter on the Saite

of related groups belongs this one of bronze kings with special focus on kneeling kings. Coordinated with technological and compositional studies, these types of investigations will gradually produce a more articulated picture of the history of bronze statuary.

Definition of the kneeling pose under consideration

The standard kneeling statuary pose under discussion may be defined as a pose which shows the king with knees and toes on the ground, the buttocks resting on the heels. The arms and hands are then variously positioned and may be empty or hold something. As discussed in the chapter on role and in Appendix 1 on the kneeling pose in stone statuary, a restricted range of variants occurs in the angle of the torso and in the leg and foot position of kneeling kings in stone statuary and relief from the New Kingdom onwards, but in bronze the standard pose occurs virtually exclusively.[21]

The specific meanings of the pose are the subject of discussion in the chapter on role, but it is well-known that from very early the pose is associated with offering and, so, clearly expresses the idea of the king's direct interaction with the gods which is at the focus of Egyptian belief. The king's deference toward the god expressed in the kneeling pose may be viewed as an extension of two of his roles: one, his role as representative of Egypt to the gods, and, secondly, an aspect of his own divinity, his role as dutiful and beloved son of the gods.[22]

Period.

[21] The exception is the type of statues accompanying the Souls of Pe and Nekhen, who are represented as saluting while kneeling on one knee with the other raised. These represent ancestral figures, never to my knowledge bear the names of specific kings, are fairly rare and are not included here.

[22] See Posener, *De la divinité du Pharaon*, pp. 32–35 and 41–45 for discussion of the subservience and entitlement which result from the king's identity as son of the gods. O'Connor, *Kingship* offers a range of recent perspectives on the nature of Egyptian kingship and a nuanced acknowledgement of its changes through time.

CUPREOUS[1] STATUARY THROUGH THE NEW KINGDOM*

Though surviving examples of royal copper alloy statuary date predominantly to the post-New Kingdom period, metal royal statuary appeared already in the Old Kingdom, and the kneeling, presumably offering, pose had appeared in metal already in the late Middle Kingdom.

In order to follow the emergence of royal bronze statuary and the kneeling bronze type, the history of cupreous statuary in general from earliest times through the New Kingdom must be considered. Three periods can be distinguished, the Old Kingdom through Dynasty 12, Late Middle Kingdom, and the New Kingdom proper.

THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS

Old Kingdom through Dynasty 12

Royal Statuary

The history of cupreous statuary begins with the mention on the Palermo Stone of a copper statue of Khasekhemui of Dynasty 2 – "making copper [the king's statue] 'High-Is-Khasekhemui' "– and another made for Neferirkare.[2] The earliest securely dated example to survive is the large statue of Pepi I of Dynasty 6 (cat. 93), with a much smaller associated figure (cat. 94), from a deposit beneath a religious structure at Hierakonpolis.[3] These statues are made of hammered copper sheet attached by

* Chronology and spellings of Egyptian names follow usage in the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All ancient Egyptian dates are B.C. Spelling of geographical names generally follows Baines and Malek, *Atlas*. Objects discussed will be referred to by catalogue numbers (cat.) that refer to the catalog in this book, or, beginning with the New Kingdom, by sequence numbers (such as NK-1) that are additionally assigned to pieces of major importance in order to facilitate a clear discussion. The assignments for a chapter are summarized in a brief list (for the New Kingdom) or chart that follows after the dating discussion in each chapter and precedes the discussion of style and features of the corpus in that period. In that chart the sequence number, catalog number, and basic descriptive information for each statuette are coordinated. Basic bibliography relative to a particular piece is found with the catalog entry and not usually referenced again in the main text.

[1] The term is used for this early period and is discussed in the introduction.

[2] *mswt bỉꜣ* [the king's statue] *Qꜣ-Ḫꜥ-sḫm-wy*, see K. Sethe, "Copper Works of Art;" for Neferirkare see Roccati, *Littérature historique*, p. 51. Kings' and gods' statues in precious materials were also made in the Old Kingdom, Roccati, pp. 40, 41, 45, 50.

[3] Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33034 and 33035, measuring 1.77 m and .75 m, respectively. Romano, "Sixth Dynasty," pp. 238–9, 255–7, 279–84 and *passim*, discusses these two works fully from an art historical viewpoint, and gives references to their original publication and subsequent history of reconstruction, and to discussions up to that point about the nature of the religious structure in which they were found.

nails that were waisted slightly to guarantee the stability of the join.[4]

In the central room of the same mud brick structure at Hierakonpolis was a brick lined pit covered with a basalt slab; in the pit was found buried the well-known gold falcon head with the remains of a wooden body clad in copper sheet and a royal statuette which had stood beneath the beak of the bird. Though nowhere explicitly described in the original excavation reports, the king's statuette (cat. 85) was roughly drawn in profile by the excavators and can be estimated at about 18 cm high. It was apparently seen by Emile Vernier at the time he wrote the Cairo catalogue and is described as wearing the nemes and shendyt and being of copper.[5] It has since been lost.

Unfortunately, problems and contradictions abound in the assessment of the extant evidence for a dating of the group. The archaeological context itself is highly problematic. The deposits in the structure seem to respect the layout of the structure, which must, therefore, have still been apparent when the rooms were filled with clean sand and the deposits were buried. This is thought to have been done as part of the building of a large new temple enclosure and a temple, judged by both Quibell and Fairservis on rather slim evidence to be from the early New Kingdom.[6] Moreover, the identity of the earlier structure and, with that, possible indications of its original date and range, are still under discussion.[7]

Leaving aside the falcon group, the other objects in the deposit along with the falcon group could be of the late Old Kingdom.[8] As to the falcon group, its dating

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[4] Views of the smaller cleaned statue were circulated in an announcement by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, and are on file in the Metropolitan Museum of Art archives. The larger statue, whose cleaning and reassembly are now complete, was discussed and illustrated in a public lecture entitled "Horus Pepi – to whom life be given!" on December 3, 2001, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the conservator responsible, Christian Eckmann, Senior Conservator, Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, Germany. The conservator's observations have dispelled earlier speculations that the statues were partly cast, or that they were hammered over wooden forms (for history see Romano, "Sixth Dynasty," p. 239 n. 20; also Vassilika, "Bronze Sculpture," pp. 1–2 and notes 4–5), and the fact that the statues stood singly (see Romano, p. 283) is now reflected in the restoration and display. See now Eckmann and Shafik, *Die beide Kupferstatuen*.

[5] Quibell, *Hierakonpolis* I, especially p. 11 and pls. 41–43 and 47, and Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis* II, especially p. 27 discuss the deposit and the piece and in a drawing seem to show the statuette as nude. Emile Vernier, the jewelry expert then with the Institut Français in Cairo, explicitly contradicts this impression (p. 234 re CG 52701 in Vernier, *Bijoux*): "Devant l'épervier se tenait une statue du roi, également en cuivre, coiffé d'un klaft arrondi et vetu de la shenti;" he remarks further "Le corps du faucon était de bois, revêtu de plaques de cuivre clouées. Toute cette partie tomba en poussière quand on la débarrassa de sa gangue; seule la petite statue du roi subsiste et figure dans le Musée."

[6] Thutmose III is usually identified as the builder because of a sandstone architrave block of his found reused in an area of the precinct. Fairservis, *The Hierakonpolis Project. Season January to March 1978*, pp. 13–14; Fairservis, *The Hierakonpolis Project. Season January to May 1981*, p. 1.

[7] The structure in which the statue was found has been cited by Barry Kemp as an example of the Early Formal style and the group dated to the Middle Kingdom without latitude, in Kemp, *Anatomy*, pp. 65–83; Kemp's pp. 74–77 deal particularly with this structure at Hierakonpolis which he considers the main cult temple and Middle Kingdom in date. While retaining his categorization of the structure, he seems to allow somewhat more dating latitude in "How Religious," pp. 41–2. David O'Connor has shown, however, that the structure seems quite possibly to be a ka chapel of Pepi I, but does not argue for any particular terminus for the structure, though a terminus in the New Kingdom would seem very extended. See O'Connor, "Status," pp. 83–98, responding to Barry Kemp's original discussion referenced above. James Romano makes some additional points in his study of the Pepi statues cited above, "Sixth Dynasty," p. 279 n. 181, but they do not affect the general parameters of the discussion about the dating of the structures.

[8] The small cylindrical jar is, admittedly, not a very clear form altogether.

and even the contemporaneity of the elements of the composition are at question: some stylistic and technical points could be related to the Old Kingdom, while a New Kingdom date has been put forward, though is by no means proven as far as I can judge, for some others.[9] New attention is being given to the group, and the copper cladding of the falcon which had been misplaced has been found, as has the pottery stand. Hopefully, the royal statuette and the pot which steadied the pole supporting the group will be relocated also and examined for their dating implications. The problem of the date of the royal statuette cannot be solved at this time. For the present, it will have to suffice to note that the group may have some bearing on the question of the earliest use of small-scale cupreous statuary.

Non-royal statuary

A considerable number of cast cupreous statuettes of male and female private persons are attributable to the Middle Kingdom and quite possibly earlier, that is, the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. Their poses, hair and dress more or less duplicate those of the sometimes considerably larger non-royal wooden tomb statuary - including nude or clothed striding males and males with staves and kilts or with long official kilts.

Apparent examples known to me include: fifteen or sixteen striding or standing

[9] Rossler-Kohler, "Zur Datierung;" Eaton-Krauss, "Dating," argues cogently for a mixed date, the falcon's crown and the king's statue having the necessarily latest date, in the New Kingdom. In my view, the most significant objections to an earlier date arise only in connection with the crown, and are not fully determining. The position of the king beneath the beak of the falcon does indeed relate to a stone statue type known heavily from the New Kingdom; however, I think the development of the iconography of actual cult material - divine temple statuettes and attendant figures - is very poorly understood, and that it is necessary to be tentative in generalizing from what we know about large statuary. Though the grouping of a small king beneath god's chin or head is well-known only from the New Kingdom, the concept at different inverted scales is popular already in the Old Kingdom. Furthermore, as will be seen further below in this chapter, ritual roles for small cupreous royal statuary are well-attested by the later Middle Kingdom. The datable element one would expect to be most nearly contemporary with the last use/deposition of the piece is the pot in which the pole supporting the arrangement stood. Dorothea Arnold and Janine Bourriau, viewing the poor line drawings in Quibell and Green, pl. 47, of the pot and pot stand associated with the group, commented that the dating of the beaker placed at the base of the pole turns on whether or not it has a flat bottom, a feature slightly obscured in the drawing. One might expect it to have a flat bottom given its function to steady the pole, in which case the type ends before the beginning of the New Kingdom. If it has a rounded bottom, it may last into the time of Thutmose III or later (personal communication, 1999). The pot would be an important object to relocate also.

clothed males,[10] seven striding clothed examples with staff and cloth;[11] six striding or standing nude males;[12] two standing females.[13]

There is considerable variety in quality among the statuettes, with some like the Athens figure of Hapy being of very high quality.

A very few pieces have reliable provenances. These usually derive from old poorly analyzed excavations, but it is clear they do originate in burials.

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10 Many of the figures listed in this and the next three notes were originally listed by Romano, "Statuette of a Royal Mother," p. 132 n. 10. The figures in this note can wear short or longer (noted) kilts, or the long wraparound kilt with high waist characteristic of the later Middle Kingdom (also noted).
- Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.407, 15 cm, Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 39 no. 99, pl. XVI;
- two statuettes from Tell Basta in Habachi, *Tell Basta*, p. 35, pl. 10 A/A and B/A, 32 (?) cm and 15 cm;
- Berlin 14054, 17958, 20613, 23703, measuring 6.8 cm, 16 cm, 9 cm, 18.7 cm respectively, all with various long kilts, are discussed and illustrated in *Ägyptisches Museum 1967*, p. 38 nos. 317–319 and 321;
- Brooklyn L78.17.31 (coll. Heermaneck) probably the same as Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, April 20–23, 1949 (sale catalog), no. 27, 18.6 cm;
- Brooklyn 35.1274, 14.4 cm., in von Bissing, "Äg. Bronzefiguren," p. 245–6 and fig. 3;
- Brooklyn 34.1181, 11 cm., not published;
- Buffalo, Albright-Knox Gallery 73:50.13, 5 in. or 12.7 cm in Nash, *Sculpture*, p. 71 illus.;
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 30204 from Meir, 20 cm, (the statuette is also CG 433 and the entry in Borchardt, *Statuen*, gives a height of 10.7 cm), high and long wraparound kilt in von Bissing, "Äg. Bronzefiguren," 244 ff., pl. 11/2;
- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E.1926.4, 19.5 cm, unpublished;
- London, British Museum EA 57324, no size given, fig. 77 center, pp. 147 and 149 in British Museum, *Egyptian Collections*;
- London, Christie's, December 9, 1992 (sale catalog), no. 145, 10 cm, if the piece is not New Kingdom as described there; hair relates to the following group.
- perhaps New York, Sotheby's, March 1984 (sale catalog), no. 196, 16 cm as preserved, long kilt (reference to earlier sale); most recently London, Christies, Dec. 12, 2002, no. 296 as Syro-Palestinian.

11 The following figures with (or probably with) staffs seem to wear the short shendyt kilt, and on some the short bulging haircut is bowl-shaped, resembling that seen on early wooden New Kingdom statuettes (e.g. Louvre E14319, Satnem from Deir el Medina, dated time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III) .
- Athens 3365, 18.3 cm, in *Athens 1995*, p. 111 (as also in von Bissing, "Äg. Bronzefiguren," figs. 1–2, pl. 10) has facial features which indicate a date in the Late Middle Kingdom;
- Berlin 15080, 14.8 cm (*Ägyptisches Museum 1967* no. 320; staff now missing but visible in von Bissing, "Äg. Bronzefiguren," fig. 6);
- Brooklyn 37.363E, 14 cm, in John Cooney, *Egyptian Art*, no. 29 illus. may have held a staff; said to be from Thebes (with shaven head), date uncertain, currently given as Third Intermediate Period;
- Cairo JdE 30980 from el Amra, 20 cm (but as CG 450 in Borchardt, *Statuen*, measurement is given as 10.5 cm), in von Bissing, "Äg. Bronzefiguren," pp. 247–9 fig. 5 and pl. 11/1;
- Heidelberg 2127, 9.3 cm, in Feucht, *Vom Nil*, pp. 60–61, no. 170;
- London, British Museum EA 41536 and 58067, sizes unknown, left and right, respectively, of fig. 77, pp. 147 and 149 in The British Museum, *Egyptian Collections*, may have held staves.

Aubert, *Bronzes*, p. 66 sketches a poor and broken example which is a possible addition to this group.

12 These are:
- one example from Tell Basta, Habachi, *Tell Basta* (see remarks there), p. 36 and pl. 10 B/B, 30 cm;
- Berlin 19285, 13.5 cm, *Ägyptisches Museum 1967*, no. 322;
- Berlin 2/77, 16.2 cm, *Museum, Berlin 1981*, p. 98;
- London, Christie's, June 23, 1965 (sale catalog) no. 410, h. 14.7 cm; reference to publication by Hall, "Some early copper and bronze Egyptian figurines, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 16/1–2 (1929) fig.2.
- Munich ÄS 1591, 20.5 cm, Brunner-Traut, "Frühe Kupferstatuette," pp. 12–16;
- Syracuse, private collection, 11 cm, illustrated in Christie's, London, December 9, 1992 (sale catalog).

13 Oxford, Ashmolean E2208, about 10.2cm, Garstang, *El Arabah*, p. 7 and pl. 9; a similar piece in Cairo, JE 34446, measuring ca. 8–10 cm, is unpublished. Cairo 12/11/16/2, unpublished and not included in count here, ca. 10–15 cm, is a very unusual female of unclear date or function with earrings and necklace, holding an ankh.

The male figures from Tell Basta were found in burials 3 m. above the pavement of the ka chapel of Pepi I. Habachi had noted that they looked Old Kingdom, but considered they must be Saite because of the general character of their grave goods. In fact, however, the pottery in the burials is First Intermediate Period or possibly very late Old Kingdom.[14] The statues, then, are to be similarly dated.

Berlin 20613, a striding kilted male, derives from tomb 294 of Garstang's excavations at Beni Hasan.[15] That cemetery as a whole has been evaluated by Janine Bourriau. She describes it as including the graves of minor officials and their families, probably serving the powerful local rulers buried on the high rock escarpment; she indicates the cemetery belongs to the early Middle Kingdom, meaning that there is no evidence it was in use after the reign of Senwosret II until the 18th Dynasty.[16]

The female figure Ashmolean E2208 derives from Garstang's excavations at Abydos, from an area of the cemeteries he thought seemed to date to Dynasties 13–17 with some possible admixture from the Middle or New Kingdom.[17] This particular figure he ascribes to the Middle Kingdom based on "some beads" that seemed to be of that date.

Stylistically, the statuettes mostly belong to the First Intermediate through Middle Kingdom era, though some, such as most obviously Athens 3365 and Cairo JE 30204, may date to the later part of the Middle Kingdom and be, thus, approximately contemporary with the pieces discussed below as late Middle Kingdom.

Late Middle Kingdom

Another group of statuary can be distinguished that dates to the Late Middle Kingdom, later Dynasty 12 and Dynasty 13, according to a variety of criteria.[18] These comprise the "Faiyum" group (3 kings, 1 queen's headless statuette and a separate wig which by scale would have to fit a second queen, 4 officials, and a crocodile of the same reputed provenance and same general date);[19] a king on a censer;[20] a

[14] Romano, "Statuette of a Royal Mother," already notes that the pottery of the burials in which they were found is Middle Kingdom; Susan Allen, even more specifically, indicates they are First Intermediate Period or possibly very late Old Kingdom (personal communication, 1997).

[15] Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 143 fig. 141 and p. 223.

[16] Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab*, p. 60. E. Brovarski assigns approximately the same date to this tomb based on coffin typology (p. 119 in Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age*).

[17] Garstang, *El Arabah* p. 2, 7, and plate 9.

[18] I am not including here the seated female E16267 in the Louvre collection dated on stylistic grounds to the Middle Kingdom by Delange, *Catalogue des statues*, pp. 176–7. The high content of lead in a bronze statuette of this period is extremely problematic, and I would want to review the stylistic data and the technological profile very carefully. Nor am I convinced that the piece is a late archaizing piece as suggested by Vassilika, "Bronze Sculpture," p. 297 note 11.

[19] The largest part of this group (the king's bust, the kneeling king, the queen's body, and two officials) are illustrated and described with good references as nos. 33–37 in Ortiz, *Pursuit* [unpaginated]. The other associated bronze/copper alloy statues are: a striding king (Munich ÄS 6982, Schoske, "Amenemhet III,"), a queen's wig (Geneva, private collection, unpublished), an official (Munich ÄS 7105, Schoske, "Statue eines beleibten Mannes"), another official (Louvre E27153, Delange, *Catalogue des statues*, pp. 210–213), and a crocodile statuette (Munich ÄS 6080, Wildung, "Kultbild"). Other discussions of these pieces are referenced in the basic publications given, or in the discussion below. Measurements and other specifications of relevance to the presentation here are given below in the text.

[20] Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 35687, published by Fischer, "Prostrate," fig. 16; archaeological context described by Lacovara, "Deir el-Ballas," p. 120 n. 1.

princess nursing her child;[21] and a seeming goddess nursing her child.[22]

The Faiyum Group

The Faiyum group is particularly important, since it is a sizable group of aesthetically and technically very fine and large statuary, much of it royal, and since the first known kneeling, and, thus, clearly ritual bronze king (cat. 128; plate 1) is found among this statuary. The entire group along with one or possibly two fragmentary stone statues is usually said to have come from Hawara, though Crocodilopolis or another Faiyum site is also a possibility, and is most often ascribed to Amenemhat III, based on a varying degree of resemblance of some of the royal statues to that king, the mention of that king in an inscription on the coat of one of the private figures, and the provenance.[23] However, this is certainly not a completely correct evaluation of the evidence.

The dating of uninscribed Egyptian royal sculpture from the time of Amenemhat III through the 13th and 17th dynasties is very difficult because of the disproportion between the considerable number of inscribed monuments datable to Amenemhat III and the restricted number of inscriptionally dated statues distributed among a great many kings over about the following 150 years. The group well dated to Amenemhat III tends to attract the attribution of any generally similar uninscribed piece. Moreover, Labib Habachi felt there was good evidence of the deification of Amenemhat III and continued building in connection with his cult at Hawara after the king's reign and into Dynasty 13.[24] For instance, a large red granite naos (Cairo JE43289) containing attached frontal sculptures of two kings, one wearing a khat and presenting an ankh to another wearing a nemes, and its companion piece (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1482) were pointed out by Habachi as likely showing a later king receiving life from a deified Amenemhat III, although others have put forward other explanations.[25] These naoi, in fact, do show a number of the hallmarks of dynasty 13 style provisionally identified by Bernard Bothmer, including widely separated eyes, and a marked horizontal demarcation between breasts and ribcage.[26]

In the non-royal sphere dating is equally difficult because, at least at this stage of our understanding, the private statuary of Dynasty 13 can only be generally referred

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[21] Brooklyn 43.137, most recently studied by James F. Romano, "Statuette of a Royal Mother."

[22] Berlin 14078, see Romano, "Statuette of a Royal Mother," pp. 138–142.

[23] The earliest published references to the group are: Simpson, *Art and Architecture* (1983), p. 183; Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, pp. 208f., 245, fig. 184, where the uninscribed royal bust is stylistically ascribed to Amenemhat III and the other bronzes on the grounds of stylistic similarities also so dated. Most of the bronzes were in the collection of Maurice Tempelsman of New York between 1971 and 1986 as noted by their current owner George Ortiz in published catalogues of his collection.

[24] Habachi, "Hawara," coll. 1072–3, where as evidence of this cult he refers to column fragments with the Horus name of Amenemhat III offering the sign of life to the Horus name of Queen Nefrusobek and also to the two naoi discussed here. In this regard, note also the head of Amenemhat III as Amun, Cairo TR 13/4/22/9, pp. 138–9 and notes of H. Fischer in Goring *et al.* (eds.), *Chief of Seers*.

[25] Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE43289, displayed in the Cairo Museum Garden, measures 250 cm high; the Copenhagen statue, missing part of its cornice, measures 220 cm high. Both are listed in Polz, *Porträtplastik*, pp. 43 and 44, as likely belonging to Amenemhat III. The most recent publication of the Copenhagen piece, pp. 170–171 in Jörgensen, *Egypt I*, however, ascribes the pieces to Dynasty 13.

[26] Series of lectures given in fall, 1992, at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York; see Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, p. 111, and the features discussed there.

to the images of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III as models, while influence from any contemporary royal image is hard to correlate.[27] In fact, the whole corpus of late Middle Kingdom royal and private statuary is undergoing reevaluation.

Still, provisionally it is possible to note that the royal statuary in the Faiyum group indicates a range of dates. The kneeling king is most similar to the Hawara statue of Amenemhet III and may well represent the king. However, it should be borne in mind that there is a group of statues which show tightened flesh and somewhat abstracted or idealized features, and, although these are frequently attributed to Amenemhat III, many of them are not inscribed, there is considerable variability among them, and certainly variants of the style can be dated to somewhat later. Most recently it has been suggested that at least one of the pieces often attributed to Amenemhat III represents a female, Queen Nefrusobek, daughter and second successor of Amenemhat III.[28] The large bronze bust has widely placed eyes with a natural brow, a very large nose, exaggeratedly sensual lips, and a sharply peaked very wide nemes. While based on some features of the statuary of Amenemhat III, the bronze's attributes go beyond what is known from his reign and indicate it might be datable to a somewhat later period.[29] The standing king in Munich is not well-preserved, and the Museum adheres to initial assessments of the whole group as being of the period of Amenemhat III.

The four statues of officials can all be placed within dynasty 13 on stylistic and inscriptional grounds. The two in the collection of George Ortiz are inscribed, and would seem to belong to Dynasty 13. One has the name and titles of Senebsuma, son of Serukhib, identified by Wolfram Grajetski with a known official who lived just before or during the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sebekhotep IV (ca. 1741–1719).[30] The second is probably the High Steward Senwosret, otherwise attested on a fragment and a scarab and dated on the basis of those to the late 12th or early 13th dynasty.[31] He has a very peculiar inscription down the front of his long kilt: *ḥtp di͗ nsw swt bi͗ty* (*Ny-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*) *n i͗my-r pr wr Snwsrt*, "A boon which the king gives [to] Nimaatre [that is, Amenemhat III] for [the ka of] the High Steward Senwosret." The inscription makes Amenemhat III the god who grants offerings, as though the statue of the High Steward Senwosret, only otherwise generally datable to Late Dynasty 12 or Dynasty 13, derived from a site serving a cult of Amenemhat III as god, a cult

27 In fact, Bothmer (fall 1992 lectures, IFA) felt, and initial attention to datable stylistic details seemed to support his intuition, that most of the private statuary with "realistic" or aged features is to be dated to Dynasty 13, and that very little is actually contemporary with images of Senwosret III or Amenemhat III which constituted the "realistic" prototype. See also Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, p. 36.

28 The Hawara statue of Amenemhet III is Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 385. The piece now tentatively assigned to Nefrusobek is Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 29.10.150, see Arnold, *Havemeyer*, p. 114.

29 The strongly peaked nemes occurs with Amenemhat III but also thereafter, as for example Smenkhkare Mermesha, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 37466 or Sebekhotep IV, Louvre A16; the large nose does not resemble that of Amenemhat III; and the exaggeratedly sensual lips are found in the St. Petersburg 729 of Amenemhat III , but also in statues such as MMA 12.183.6 which have for some years now been redated to Dynasty 13 because the complex of features does not sufficiently seem to fit that for Amenemhat III. (For a recent listing of statues firmly able to be placed in the 13th to 17th dynasties see Davies, *Reattributed* and Romano, "[Review of] *Reattributed*;" for good photographs of the St. Petersburg statue of Amenemhat III and some other pieces of that king and near kings, see Fay, "Amenemhat V," pls. 24–29. Forman, *Hieroglyphs*, pp. 74–5, has noted already that the bust indeed must depict a post Amenemhat III king, and suggests either Amenemhat IV or a king of the early 13th dynasty.

30 Grajetski, *Two Treasurers*, pp. i, 21, 38.

31 The general dating of the individual is according to Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 491.

like that posited by Labib Habachi.[32] Both of these statues wear the long bulging so-called coat with two tabs at the upper edge, have the aged expressive faces, and bony, frequently long skulls (dolichocephaly) associated with 13th Dynasty private statuary.[33] The statues in Munich and the Louvre are uninscribed but stylistically similar to those just discussed and should date to Dynasty 13. The official in the Louvre is, in fact, dated to Dynasty 13, while the Munich statue is still officially dated by that museum to the period of Amenemhat III.

The original context of the Faiyum statues can only be conjectured. It may be they constitute a single find as the pieces did emerge about the same time, are preponderantly metal statuary, and a common association with Amenemhat III is hypothetically possible, whether the king himself or cults to or established by him. If so, it is most likely they derive from a temple installation, perhaps most likely from a deposit of statuary cleared from such an installation, either a cult temple to Amenemhat III at his Hawara complex as Quirke speculates or a temple to Sobek in the area.[34] The presence of a kneeling statue of the king among the group is not sufficient to eliminate the possibility that a cult site to the king himself is involved, because chapels to the gods existed within royal cult complexes since the Old Kingdom; in fact, the reign of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III may represent a pivotal point in the shifting balance between royal temples and divine cult temples therein, a point when their functions reached an advanced stage of coalescence, a process whose further development is seen in the New Kingdom.[35]

The other statues

The nursing princess from Brooklyn and inferentially also the nursing goddess (?) from Berlin have been studied and convincingly dated to late Dynasty 13 by James Romano: the princess' statue has stylistic features relating to some that emerge in Dynasty 18, and she is known from a stela from Edfu; her statue perhaps ought to be thought of as representing a more southerly style of the Second Intermediate Period rather than the Late Middle Kingdom style. Later Dynasty 13 is thought by some to have withdrawn from Itj-tawy to rule from Thebes as Dynasty 17.[36]

The king on an incense burner in fact bears the name Senwosret. Photographs of the piece were studied by Henry Fischer in 1956 who felt that the king most resembled Senwosret III, or could possibly be a Dynasty 13 king of the same name. The piece was found in a redeposited location at Deir el-Ballas, so that no assistance is to be obtained from its archaeological context.

[32] The oddness of the inscription was noted already by Jurgen Settgast (?) whose copy and brief comments are published with the statue by George Ortiz: "The formula is somewhat unusual in that there is no mention of the god's name and the function of patron is instead assigned to the king himself, but whether a more extended version of the sacrificial formula appeared on the missing base is a matter of speculation." See now Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, p. 88.

[33] Bothmer Fall 1992 lectures; see, for example, Vienna 5801 in Seipel, *Gott*, pp. 214–5.

[34] Quirke, "Gods," p. 42.

[35] A stone fragment of a kneeling offering king from Dynasty 4 (Hildesheim 69) might have originated either in the Harmakhis Temple or the Khafre Valley Temple. The numerous large kneeling statues of Hatshepsut are much more compelling evidence of kneeling statues in what is partly a royal cult temple. Both these examples are discussed in the Appendix.

[36] As discussed by Quirke, "Royal Power," p. 129.

Trends apparent in the Late Middle Kingdom
In the group under discussion, some pieces may date as early as the reign of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, but most belong to the very end of dynasty 12 and to dynasty 13. When arranged according to the traditional categories for Egyptian statuary, it becomes clear the cupreous statuary of the late Middle Kingdom exhibits a wide range of these types:

a. large and small statuary of royalty
1. the two-thirds life-size royal male torso with head and separate nemes, h. 46.5 cm (cat. 129)
2. the headless standing, presumably royal, female figure, h. 69.5 cm
3. the large wig of a queen, size unknown
4. the striding king statuette, h. 56.5 cm (cat. 213)
5. the small asymmetrically squatting princess Sebeknakht of late Dynasty 13 nursing a child, h. 10.5 cm

-*That two items had roles in temple ritual is evident from attitude and/or features*

6. the small prostrate king Senwosret on an incense burner, 6.8 cm (calculated from the published photos) (cat. 95)
7. the fairly large kneeling king statuette, h. 26.5 cm (cat. 128)

b. large statuettes of high officials
1. Senebsuma, h. 33.7 cm
2. Senwosret, h. 24.2 cm
3. Louvre official, 28.3 cm
4. Munich official, h. 32 cm

c. possible representations of deities
1. a nursing woman and child possibly representing Isis and Horus,[37] 13 cm
2. a crocodile surely connected with the cults of Sobek, 20 cm

The range of types exhibited, that is, royal and royal ritual, private, and divine representation, is not so clearly articulated again for metal statuary before the Third Intermediate Period. The reputed provenance or the types of many of these bronzes suggests an association of bronze statuary with temple roles. Moreover, the presence of small royal statuary (i.e., the censer and the kneeling bronze king)[38] whose function reveals or pose represents an interactive role provides the first clear instances of the association of royal bronze statuary with ritual acts.

Observations
The Faiyum group in particular shows very sophisticated casting technology, with an equally sophisticated use of alloys, inlay, and cladding for coloristic effects.

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[37] See footnote 22 above.
[38] It is possible the standing king should also be included. Like Osorkon I (TIP-6) of the Third Intermediate Period, he may have held offering pots.

The kneeling bronze king itself is a black-bronze of extremely high quality. The king has inlaid eyes and brows, and was formerly clad with electrum sheet for the kilt and gold for the crown. The statue is very finely delineated and very close to the Hawara image of Amenemhet III. The king's costume seems to have been the shendyt kilt with the nemes headdress, the latter deduced from two round holes for nails above the nipples and one in the upper center of the back. Since his arms are not preserved, it is not possible to be totally certain of their position or whether the hands held an offering; however, given the offering pose (i.e. holding *nw* pots) of contemporary stone kneeling kings (see Appendix I, Middle Kingdom section) and given that the two bronze kings of the early New Kingdom certainly hold *nw* pots (NK-1, -2), it is likely this king also held *nw* pots.

The use of the alloy called *ḥmtỉ ḳm*, meaning black copper or black bronze, is to be noted.[39] This will be noted a number of times in royal bronzes of the ensuing periods, and also occurs in some bronzes of deities, including the Munich crocodile mentioned above. Black copper/bronze is an alloy of gold and copper or bronze which produces a deep rich purplish or bluish black coloration, ideal for heightening the contrast with precious metal inlays. The alloy is intentionally produced according to a rather complicated procedure. The king and the crocodile are the earliest Egyptian objects in which the use of this alloy has been confirmed, but it certainly occurs from at least this point forward in high quality objects in Egypt, in objects from Syria-Palestine from roughly the same period, and in objects from Mycenae contemporary with the Egyptian New Kingdom. According to the textual references (which, however, only begin in Dynasty 18), the alloy seems strongly associated with cult equipment, associated statuary, and other temple furbishments.

THE NEW KINGDOM

The small number of bronze statuettes of any type firmly attributable to the New Kingdom has sometimes been commented upon.[40] It is, in fact, the case that few statuettes are attributable to the early New Kingdom period especially, at the same time as great bronze-working skill is attested by elaborate utensils including figural elements such as mirrors and openwork stands and by famous feats such as casting the bronze doors of the Temple of Amun.[41] Again, presumably the profile of bronze

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[39] The following discussion of black copper (black bronze) relies on the important studies of Alessandra Giumlia-Mair, references to which are found in a resume of her work (published along with an analysis by Stephen Quirke of textual contributions to the understanding of this material and its associations) in "Black Copper." See also by A. Giumlia-Mair, "not Niello." One important terminological point made there on pp. 101–2 is that the proper ancient Egyptian term, actual copper/bronze composition aside, is "black copper;" the word for bronze – *ḥsmn* – seems never to have been qualified by *ḳm*

[40] Most recently by Vassilika, "Bronze Sculpture," pp. 291–2.

[41] For mirrors see C. Lilyquist, "Mirrors" in Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age*, pp. 182–184. For openwork bronze stands see Steindorff, *Aniba*, pp. 147–8, pls. 96–97, and also in Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age*, p. 119 no. 106 and notes there. For the bronze doors of the Temple of Amun, see PM I, 2nd ed., 1, 211 (14) IV. Small royal statuettes forming part of cult equipment, some of which (a censer, for example) may be bronze, represented in reliefs of Thutmose III [PM II, 2nd ed., 123 (426) and (432)]. The number of kneeling royal statuettes shown in private tombs of mid-Dynasty 18, however, do not seem to be bronze: tombs 73, Amenhotep (?), temp. Hatshepsut, PM I, 2nd ed., 1, p. 143 (3); tomb 100, Rekhmire, temp.

statuary at this time is attributable to a complex of causes; further efforts to identify New Kingdom bronzes and to characterize the corpus may begin to reveal these factors.

One example of a deity's statuette can be identified with some assurance, a small crocodile inscribed with the name of Amenhotep III.[42] Two private statuettes, a nude boy named Amenemheb in the Metropolitan Museum and a small female in the Louvre, have been identified as belonging to either the Second Intermediate Period or very early New Kingdom,[43] while a few private kneeling worshipping males have been dated to the late New Kingdom.[44] Bronze and copper shawabtis of royal and non-royal persons also exist, but in general these seem to form a different class of object and are not systematically included here.[45] In another important development, the new Egyptian installation at the Louvre has posited an extended corpus of New Kingdom bronze statuary established through careful stylistic reevaluations.

It is also notable, that, as discussed below, two new bronze kneeling kings can be added to the New Kingdom group, so that a consolidated series of royal images is beginning to emerge. Moreover, it is interesting that the series apparently emphasizes bronze kneeling – i.e., ritual – kings and begins with Thutmose III in the relatively early New Kingdom, coincident with an intense interest in the kneeling statue in stone (see Appendix I, New Kingdom), and with a time of rebuilding and refurbishing of the temple cults and processions of Egypt.[46]

The following royal bronze statues can be definitely assigned to the New Kingdom (relevant dating discussion if not referred to in the text below is to be found under the catalogue entry). They are given in chronological order.

Summary List of New Kingdom Royal Bronzes

1. kneeling Thutmose III, holding *nw* pots, h. 13.6 cm (cat. 1; plate 2)
2. kneeling Thutmose IV, holding *nw* pots, h. 14.2 cm (cat. 2; plate 3)
3. small standing late Amarna-period king or prince, arms at sides, h. 10.2 cm (cat. 43; plate 4 right)

TIII/AII, PM I, 2nd ed., 1, p. 209 (7); tomb 93, Kenamun, temp. Amenhotep II, PM I, 2nd ed., 1, p. 191. Ivory, ebony, blue-green material, alabaster, limestone, red material, and wood are mentioned or depicted in Davies, *Kenamun*, p. 24ff. By the time of Thutmose IV, however, a metal statue of a kneeling king seems to be represented proffering a complex vase in the shop of the metal craftsmen in tomb 66, Hapu, PM I, 2nd ed., 1, p. 132 (2) I-II. Helck, *Materialien*, pp. 33, 40 does list mentions of bronze statue(tte)s, one denoted as royal, of the period of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

[42] Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 29 where she cites Christie's, London, November 18, 1977 (sale catalog), lot 542. Other candidates include a badly damaged possibly post-Amarna black bronze of Amun in the Walters Art Museum (54.401, see Freed, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, p. 274) and an Onuris in Copenhagen sometimes attributed to Amenhotep III (AEIN 1658, Jörgensen, *Egypt I*, pp. 338–9).

[43] Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 26.7.1413, Hayes, *Scepter*, fig. 30, is bronze (unpublished analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 1991). The bronze female, Louvre E17338, h. 6.4 cm, is illustrated as figure 3 on p. 30 of Ziegler, "Jalons."

[44] Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 51.173, h. 7.3 cm., illustrated in Hayes, *Scepter*, p. 382, fig. 239. Two small statuettes of unnamed priests (26.7.1415 and 47.105.3) have been also suggested to date to the late New Kingdom (Hayes, *Scepter*, p. 381 mentions one of them), but this requires further study.

[45] See Clayton, "Royal Shawabti Figures," pp. 167–175, and see his note 1 regarding private copper shawabtis, to which add the copper corn-grinding shawabti of Si-Ese, Brooklyn 37.125 E, datable to the period of Thutmose IV – Amenhotep III.

[46] See the bibliography for NK-1 under cat. 1.

4. kneeling post-Amarna king, probably Tutankhamun, arms missing, h. 20.6 cm (cat. 284; plate 5)
5. kneeling Ramesses II, holding *maat*, h. 18 cm (cat. 3; plate 6)
6. torso of a striding Ramesses V, h. 11 cm (cat. 4)
7. bronze base from Megiddo, which held a presumably bronze striding Ramesses VI (no evidence of a staff preserved on base), l. of base 27.4 cm, w. 9.2 cm, h. 5.4 cm (cat. 5)
8. perhaps partly ancient bronze base and statue of Ramesses IX, h. 27.5 cm (statue shows the king offering *nw* pots, but the entire statue above the legs is quite doubtful) (cat. 6).

Exclusions from the corpus

Several pieces have been dated by others to the New Kingdom, but are not so dated here:

A small sphinx of Menkheperre (cat. 7, TIP-2), is sometimes assigned to the king of Dynasty 18, though I think there are good reasons to assign it to the High Priest of that name of Dynasty 21, and so include it with the Third Intermediate Period.

A bronze head in a blue crown (cat. 101) has been attributed by style to Amenhotep III, a plausible but not fully satisfactory attribution made more problematic by the lead content of the alloy, not normally seen until the Third Intermediate Period. As I have not had a chance to study it first hand and as its importance to the analysis here is not great, I do not discuss it further.

An silver statuette of a king offering *maat* has recently been identified as Seti I. I think it is more likely to belong to the Third Intermediate Period, and, though it is not bronze, discuss it there as TIP-C because of the importance of its stylistic, iconographic, and other attributes.

A statue (cat. 260) with legs in the salute/kneel position typical of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen, holding document cases (?) at chest height in each hand, and with the name of Ramesses II in the belt rectangle, has been seen on the art market, but is iconographically and stylistically odd.

A hollow statue (cat. 192) of Ramesses II against an obelisk and carrying standards is occasionally cited in the literature, but is iconographically and technically extremely peculiar for a bronze and is, in fact, registered as not ancient by the British Museum.

The upper part of a statue (cat. 11, TIP-7) is still sometimes cited as Ramesses IV (and in the past also as Ramesses VI), but graphic idiosyncrasies indicate the cartouche belongs to Osorkon II; it is, therefore, discussed with the Third Intermediate Period examples.

Observations

Surviving statuettes fall into two groups. One comprises pieces of the period from Thutmose III through Ramesses II, about 1479–1225 B.C., or two hundred to two hundred and fifty years, and includes four kneeling kings and one small standing king. The second comprises pieces from the approximately 50 year period from Ramesses V through Ramesses IX, about 1147 to 1108 (or 75 years if allowance is

made for all conjectured identifications for NK-8, see cat. 6 entry): all the figures were striding and relatively large, perhaps about an average of 25 cm, although none is preserved to an important degree. As they offer no stylistic information and in other respects relate better to Phase A of the Third Intermediate Period, this group will be discussed in that connection in part II of the following chapter.

The remainder of the discussion here concerns the statuettes NK-1–5.The listed pieces are bronze by composition, in two cases black bronze. Casting technology shows considerable variation as to the use, size, shape, and support of cores. In addition, preserved tangs or traces of tangs show a variability associated with procedures that are not yet entirely standardized.

Stylistically, these small pieces generally show a close adherence to the official image of each of the kings depicted, sometimes also described as a particular king's iconography. Even were the name of the king not included, the arch of the brow, shape of the mouth, particular shape of the khat and position of the uraeus would point to Thutmose III as the identity of NK-1, just as the eyebrow shape, distinctively thick upper lip, and uraeus position would identify NK-2 as Thutmose IV. The kneeling post-Amarna king (NK-4) can be securely assigned to either Smenkhkare/Nefertiti/Meritaton or Tutankhamun on the grounds of a detailed study of facial and bodily features, and the face of the kneeling Ramesses II (NK-5) has youthful features that very closely match the upper part of a large diorite statue of that king preserved in Cairo.[47] All statues are basically shown as upright. Interestingly, hip to knee distances in all examples are disproportionately lengthened to emphasize the grace and balance of the pose.

All of the pieces are of high quality, the post-Amarna kneeling king most strikingly so, the statuette of Thutmose IV least obviously because the blurring of lines caused by damaging overcleaning makes it difficult to appreciate the original high quality of this bronze except that it is possible to note that the eyes were inlaid and details carefully incised. Thutmose III's statuette and that of the kneeling post-Amarna king were both elegant black-bronzes, and retain traces of cladding in gold, the latter extensively so. It should be noted here that when it has been possible to actually examine bronze royal statuettes, they very frequently show traces of gilding over some part or all of the surfaces. Though it is not possible to suggest that all bronze kings were gilded, neither is it possible to establish that they were not. When gilding has not been noted in the catalogue, it may be either because close examination was not possible, or because stripping in ancient times or harsh treatment in modern times may have removed all final traces.

The costume of the kings is the classic vertically pleated shendyt, except for the two Amarna/post-Amarna kings (NK-3 and 4) who wear types of horizontally pleated wrapped kilts (or sash-kilts[48]) with a long front piece. Unexpectedly, the belt of Thutmose III narrows strongly from back to front, a feature not known in stone statuary before Amenhotep III and his successors. There is some variability in headdresses, with khat and nemes each used twice, and one figure wearing the distinctive Amarna royal wig. No ornament is worn, excepting the belt, which is in

[47] See references in the catalogue section for relevant studies for these: for the Ramesses II bronze compare Cairo Egyptian Museum CG 616, well-illustrated in Terrace-Fischer, *Treasures*, pp. 141–4.
[48] See Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Clothing*, pp. 64–67.

three cases the traditional belt with diamond pattern, and in the case of the post-Amarna king is the belt with a pattern of vertical and horizontal groups of lines.[49]

Placement of the name is restricted to the belt rectangles in the mid-18th dynasty, must have been on the base or arms in the case of the post-Amarna kneeling king if it was inscribed, and is found on the shoulders of Ramesses II.[50] The order of the signs in the name of Thutmose III is unusual because of a transposition which places the name of Re in the center as if to highlight that god's name or, expressive of a kind of intimacy between the king and a god, to orient the sign in relation to a divine statuette it faced.

Thutmose III and Thutmose IV hold the traditional offering of *nw* pots, with arms bent directly forward and very slightly up from the elbow. Ramesses II offers *maat*, an offering that first becomes very popular in the period of Amenhotep III and the Amarna period. *Maat* in this example is held in the hand of the left arm raised and extended naturally from the shoulder and toward the center of the body; the right arm is now distorted, but would have been similarly held upward and forward, with the palm of the hand parallel to the upright back of the goddess statuette, as it may be seen preserved in two Kushite statuettes (cat. 68, 190). The post-Amarna kneeling king might have held *maat*, since that offering had by then become popular; I tend to think, however, that the statuette held *nw* pots, since the shape of the arm/body join surface has the form of a balanced isosceles triangle with horizontal base rather than the tilted base and forward thrust of the triangular join surface which accompanies the raised arms of the statue of Ramesses II who held *maat*.

Regarding the non-kneeling statuary, the standing late Amarna king in particular must be discussed here for the information it may shed on the role of bronze statuary. This piece, rather unimpressive at first glance, was on the art market before 1907 and eventually reached The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. It was subsequently noted that it was the same piece as one traced by Ludwig Borchardt to the Ghurab find. While this is very interesting, it is still a speculative origin and the oddities and slackness of the piece might be dissuasive even as to its antiquity. However, these features are to some degree normalized when the appropriate parallels are noted, the gold and silver staves topped with childish images of a striding Tutankhamun from his tomb.[51] These are very close in both size and stance. Moreover, associated with the Baltimore Amarna king is a peculiar piece of flat metal which might have been a sort of base, and examination shows traces of a socket on the bottom of this platform, as though it were to be socketed to a staff. More careful examination of the figure shows traces of gilding, and, in fact, rather careful working.

Whether such figures were somehow peculiar to the Amarna and post-Amarna kings, or whether these are the only surviving examples of an object more widely used by kings, can only be guessed at. Two things about this piece are important for the study of bronze kings, however. First, the interchangeability in this instance of

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49 Evers, *Staat* II, pp. 34–37 provides some terminology and useful remarks about belts, though he does not cover everything found on bronzes.

50 The quality of name inscriptions on bronze is quite variable. This could be partly related to whether the piece was inscribed in the wax model or inscribed (or reinscribed) after casting. It could sometimes also be related to the accessibility of the area to be inscribed.

51 Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, p. 290 para. 352(b,c) had noted already the similarity in stance.

bronze - possibly specifically gilded bronze - and gold is important to note. Here the gilded bronze version is clearly of poorer quality, but still gilded bronze was suitable for this object in some situations, and a certain equivalence of materials is established. Secondly, the use of the bronze statuary for a staff, a quintessential type of processional or performance apparatus,[52] is a piece of evidence to be considered in line with others when the role of bronze royal statuary is discussed.

Finally, one bronze royal sphinx standard (cat. 71) of the type used on divine barks has been stylistically dated to the Ramesside Period, certainly would not date any later than the Third Intermediate Period, and testifies to use of some bronze accoutrements on barks.[53]

52 The gold and silver implements of Tutankhamun (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 61665/6 Carter 235 a/b; photographs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Art Department archives) show the king wearing the same kilt, longer in back than in front, as the Baltimore king. Tutankhamun's left foot is forward, his hands are turned palm toward the back, and he wears the blue crown. The height of the gold staff is 51 9/16 inches or 131.5 cm, and of the figure 3 1/2 inches (9 cm). The measurements of the silver staff, though not given, are approximately similar judging from a photo which shows the two staves together. However, they are not entirely alike, the silver figure being uninscribed and showing slightly more hunched figure and broader face and mouth. In discussing the gold staff, I.E.S. Edwards noted, "In form, this piece immediately suggests the standards carried by priests and officials in state and religious ceremonies. As a rule, however, such standards consist of a long staff surmounted by a cult object resting on a flat base. The cult objects include birds and animals sacred to particular gods and, exceptionally, even mummiform figures, but not human figures. Furthermore, the staffs are considerably longer than those of this piece and its companion in silver. Possibly these were more in the nature of wands than standards, or conceivably marking pegs used in some ceremony. The unmistakably childlike figure of the king might suggest that the ceremony was his coronation, which occurred when he was about nine, but why they should have been made of two different metals and how they were employed cannot be explained. Nevertheless his age and consequently his shortness of stature may account for the reduction in length of the staff." (Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, p. 125).

53 Coche-Zivie, "Sphinx," *LÄ* 5, col. 1143.

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THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Because of its complexity and length, this chapter is divided into two parts, Part I: Dating Issues, and Part II: Commentary.

PART I: DATING ISSUES

Introduction

The corpus of preserved bronze statuary is greatly enriched in all respects for the Third Intermediate Period. Divine statuary certainly exists though it is seldom dated by inscription.[1] Small and large bronzes of officials, large bronzes of women with important religious offices, and small and large bronzes of kings exist; some of these have demonstrable ritual functions.[2] Moreover, related examples of precious metal statuary are preserved.

Following stylistic and typological developments during this period is, however, more difficult than usual.[3] First of all, the Third Intermediate Period itself lasted more than 300 years, during which time Egypt's political structure evolved through several phases each with two or more geographic and political foci, and then finally fractured into small units. Secondly, in the 8th century the scope and chronology of the political and artistic interaction between the rising Kushite power and the Egyptian petty states is at issue: elements of Kushite costume were certainly mimicked on occasion so that it is possible more ephemeral tastes of the Kushites also influenced Egypt of the late Third Intermediate Period even before the formal establishment

[1] E.g. Baltimore, WAG 54.549 datable to Dynasty 22, see Thiem, "Brief Note," p. 104, and Copenhagen AEIN 1008 datable to Osorkon I, see Jørgensen, "En aegyptisk bronzefigur," are examples of human-headed deities.

[2] See: Ziegler, "Les arts du métal;" also Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary." Possible additions to the corpus of private bronzes of this period include Cleveland 1980.2, see Berman, *Cleveland Catalogue*, pp. 252–3, and Paris, Drouot sale catalog October 2, 2000, lot 581 on pp. 112–3.

[3] The historical picture is presented mainly in Kitchen, *TIP*, which is likewise referred to at many points further along. Many aspects of the dynastic history of the period remain under scrutiny (as, for example, many questions with respect to the '23rd dynasty'), and would create greater or lesser changes in Kitchen's account, but his is the most thoroughly developed by far and provides a framework against which to view the bronzes discussed below. Suggestions or queries by others are referenced or are discussed by Kitchen in the preface to the 1995 edition (not indexed but chronologically organized so that the reader can fairly easily locate comments regarding particular points of interest), and are referred to directly here when they affect the discussion. Leahy, "Libyan Period," is very useful in trying to understand the particular character of the period. Dates for the Kushite rulers mentioned here are modified according to current scholarly opinion; see the next chapter. The issues raised in this chapter are influenced by other evaluations dealing more particularly with the art, monuments, and religion of the period, chiefly Fazzini, "Several Objects," pp. 113–137, and same author, *Iconography*. Other brief but insightful comments about the art of the period include Cyril Aldred, "Amun," and Russmann, "Royal Statuette."

of Kushite overlordship in Egypt under Shabaqo; on the other hand, it seems more and more probable that many of the developments of the late Third Intermediate Period that have been ascribed to Kushite influence are instead native developments that then influenced the Kushites.[4] Finally, in this discussion the end of the Third Intermediate Period has been placed before Dynasty 25 to account for the period of relative political and artistic unity that begins with the Kushite presence in Egypt, and because the Kushites both reflect and rationalize the situation that has gone before them. It is important to realize, however, that in many ways Kushite sovereignty simply masks the continuation of political divisions that operated in the later Third Intermediate Period. These divisions find recognizable expression for some time still in the art of the 26th dynasty, although the formulation of the classical image of the Saite dynasty gradually subsumes many other tendencies.[5] So, while this chapter will deal with the Third Intermediate Period up to 713 and the Kushite conquest, awareness that the political structures and artistic styles of the Third Intermediate Period form a subcurrent through the Kushite and some part of the Saite Period is an important foundation to a refined understanding of the development of bronze statuary.

Phases of the Third Intermediate Period

For my purposes, the Third Intermediate Period is best broken down into three main phases. These reflect well stylistic distinctions that will be noted, but also conform to recognized historical phases: a late dynasty 20 prelude-dynasty 21 (in the following discussion referred to as Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period *Phase A*); early dynasty 22, that is, before the further fracturing signaled by dynasty 23 (hereafter *Phase B*); and the period of overlapping dynasties 22/23/24 (hereafter *Phase C*). These can be briefly characterized here to provide an initial historical context for the bronzes. In 1080 a *wḥm mswt* or Renaissance era began under Ramesses XI. The country was divided into northern and southern administrative areas overseen by his designated successor in the north and a military leader designated High Priest in the south; this system was routinized with the death of Ramesses XI in 1070, and during dynasty 21 (1069/1070–945) Egypt is ruled by a pharaoh in the north at Tanis and in the south by powerful, virtually independent (and sometimes styled royal) High Priests at Thebes. During Dynasty 22 (beginning 945), the northern pharaoh manages to dominate the succession of the Theban High Priests, and Tanis effectively controlled the country. However, this dominance suffers setbacks already beginning about 870. By 818 the rulers known as dynasty 23 take power, and a progressive splitting of the Delta and Middle Egypt into petty kingdoms and chiefdoms ensues. In the south during most of Dynasty 22 and 23, both Herakleopolis, as the northernmost point of the southern realm, and Thebes play roles of importance. The

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[4] See for the intricacies and some points of Kushite influence in art, Russmann, "Royal Statuette," especially pp. 154–5. See very cogently on the point of local Egyptian developments Leahy, "Royal Iconography," esp. pp. 234–6. While his general presentation is significant, his point about the Kushites wearing the blue crown in a few instances is mistaken; see Russmann, "Kushite Headdresses."

[5] One particular iconographic case in point is the continuation in popularity and acceptance of the cap crown well into dynasty 26, see Leahy, as above. Other points are developed in important studies of the art of the early to middle Saite Period by Bernard Bothmer or Edna Russmann, referred to in the relevant chapter of this study.

conquest by the Kushites in 713 apparently calms the political fractiousness, but does not entirely do away with the smaller kingdoms or chiefdoms, particularly in the Delta.

General Observations on Style

A certain number of bronzes can be assigned to each of these phases based on inscriptions. However, a great many others have to be dated by stylistic analysis either because the name they bear could belong to one of several like-named rulers, or because they are unnamed. So the first necessity is to establish and chronologically order the corpus of kneeling kings, a lengthy process involving investigation of a number of related images.

The foundations of the chronology will be directly datable pieces. In addition, Richard Fazzini's illuminating discussion of the art of this still poorly apprehended period is important to beginning to understand the bronzes of the period, and so is briefly resumed here.[6]

Fazzini has organized a number of observations made by himself and others about the art of the Third Intermediate Period, and from this has formulated a description of what he aptly terms "stylistic milieus," that is, distinctive coalescences of stylistic features. His observations apply both to statuary and relief work, with, of course, certain differences. These observations are useful in establishing a broader picture of what is happening in the period, but also serve more specifically to facilitate certain comparisons or in dating particular pieces.

Fazzini describes three relevant stylistic milieus:

First, the stylistic milieu most often associated with the Third Intermediate Period is characterized as follows: "a good many works of Dynasty 21–Libyan Period [my phases A through early C] display varying mixtures of Thutmoside and Ramesside elements, and in particular early or very late Ramesside elements."[7] He goes on to note that early Ramesside works in themselves seek to recapture something of the Thutmoside era.[8] Specifying whether a particular Third Intermediate Period piece displays a more Thutmoside or more early Ramesside quality is then a matter of some subtlety.

But, as Fazzini adds, the Third Intermediate Period is also a direct continuation of the Late Ramesside Period. Images of this period themselves incorporate earlier influences, yet differ, often showing less tendency to youthful idealization.[9]

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6 Fazzini, "Several Objects."

7 Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 115.

8 Many important studies of aspects of Thutmoside style exist. A number of relatively recent studies by Betsy Bryan, Biri Fay and Hourig Sourouzian are referred to in my own publication of cat. 1. Ramesside sculptural style, particularly of Dynasty 19, is the subject of much of the work of Hourig Sourouzian, most recently "Raccords Ramessides;" see also for a thorough and important discussion identifying particular style types Do. Arnold, "Bust." Significant more general treatments of the sculptural art of these periods have been written by Aldred, the latest in Aldred, *Empire,* and by Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*.

9 A good example is the wooden statue British Museum EA 882, discussed by Hourig Sourouzian, in Phillips, *Africa,* pp. 88–89. There is also a small kneeling figure of Ramesses IX which fits the profile of the period, see Aldred, "Neferkare;" it's authenticity has sometimes been questioned, however (see

Still, "most of these objects [of the Third Intermediate Period] deviate sufficiently from Ramesside art to be distinct from it." This is, of course, true, and it is also true of Third Intermediate Period pieces that seem to be going back to a more purely Thutmoside model vis à vis originals of that period, but the differences are generally in degree rather than kind, though they may also be signaled by subtly anachronistic conjunctions.[10] In further elaboration, Fazzini points out that particularities in emphasis within this milieu may sometimes be noted, though larger patterns are difficult to bring into focus; for example, works found at Thebes may sometimes show a closer adherence to a Thutmoside prototype, so that the relatively Thutmoside image of Osorkon III just discussed is found at Karnak in Dynasty 23.

Second, Fazzini notes a particular stylistic milieu that had evolved by his late Libyan Period [my phase C] where voluminous upper body forms - broad shoulders and chests" are depicted in statuary and relief in conjunction with low, narrow waists and a certain elongation of the figure in general. Emblematic of this style are certain reliefs, but also the bronze statuette of Peftjaubast (TIP-13) discussed below.[11]

Third, Fazzini characterizes "realistic faces" as a stylistic milieu identifiable throughout the Third Intermediate Period, but with somewhat more currency in his late Libyan Period, my phase C.[12] He refers to faces probably influenced by Middle Kingdom sculpture such as the stone sphinx of Siamun, and also certain relief examples perhaps more vaguely influenced by an Old or Middle Kingdom strength or harshness.[13]

Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 130 n. 53). A careful study of later New Kingdom art remains to be written.

[10] Fairly evident relations of model and rendering can be seen in comparing any of a number of statues of Thutmose III or Cairo CG 616 depicting Ramesses II to the limestone image of Osorkon III pushing a bark (CG42197), or the Cairo or Turin statues of Ramesses II to the Philadelphia head of Osorkon II, or again simple affinities may be seen between the wooden Ramesses IX referred to in the previous note and to the Tanite mask of Psusennes. For good photos of the statue of Osorkon III (CG42197), see Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture* pp. 155–7 (there called Osorkon II in error, since Kitchen has demonstrated and it has been accepted that Osorkon Siese is Osorkon III), or Corteggiani, *Cairo Museum*, p. 151. The small statuette's face is considerably rounder in front view than suggested by either of these photographs. For the face of Osorkon II, Philadelphia E16199, see most recently Silverman, *Searching*, p. 106; for the definitive publication and good photographs of head and body, see Bothmer, "Osorkon II," where earlier bibliography is cited. For the mask of Psusennes, see conveniently Stierlin, *Gold*, p. 146. Good photographs of a representative Thutmose III (CG42054) may be found in Terrace-Fischer, pp. 106–107, and of the Cairo Ramesses II (CG616) in the same, pp. 141–144. The Turin Ramesses II (Museo Egizio 1380) is conveniently pictured in Aldred, *Empire*, p. 185.

[11] Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 122–3. Other statuary showing the same features are Louvre E 7692 and E7693, normally attributed to the later Third Intermediate Period, as in Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," p. 92. Fazzini cites Cairo JE 46915 from a Memphis chapel normally dated to Sheshonq III as a possibly relatively early type piece in relief and illustrates it as his figure 4. Jocelyn Berlandini, "Une stèle," p. 161, points out, however, in discussion of another relief that the elongated figural style belongs more characteristically to the period of Sheshonq V than to that of Sheshonq III. I owe this reference to Richard Fazzini.

[12] Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 123.

[13] He cites the relief in his own plate 4; the sphinx in the Egyptian Museum is illustrated in Aldred, *Crépuscule*, fig. 266. See comments in Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 133 n. 90. See also the sphinx of Osorkon I Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 52. The sphinx is illustrated in Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pl. 17 alongside another Third Intermediate Period statue illustrative of the realistic tendency, no. 5791 in the same museum.

Dating of Royal Bronzes

It seems to me that the logical procedure is to proceed by briefly reviewing the inscriptionally dated royal bronzes and other relevant dated three-dimensional images, whether it be other royal and divine statuary, non-royal bronzes, stone statues, or funerary equipment in precious metals. Thereafter I will consider the royal bronzes which can be ascribed to each of my phases by reference to stylistic features of dated material, trying to assign and sequence these pieces as reasonably as possible in the present state of our knowledge. Other kinds of related material will be adduced as it seems useful.

Insofar as there is any provenance, even hearsay provenance, for the statues discussed, it will be noted, though with bronze the point of discovery can be far from the point of creation.

Royal Bronzes dated to Phase A by inscription, and other dated comparanda

For Phase A (Dynasty 21; 1069–945) important examples of the royal image include excavated gold and silver coffins and masks of Psusennes I, the courtier Wendjebaendjed, and King Amenemope at Tanis, between 1039 and 984.[14] The Tanis works in precious metal reflect the late Ramesside image, with rounded faces and sensual mouths. In addition, a bronze striding statuette wearing the kilt with triangular apron is inscribed with the name of the High Priest Menkheperre (1045–992) of Thebes (TIP-1; plate 7), and a bronze sphinx discussed below depicts probably the same Menkheperre (TIP-2; plate 8).[15] The pure oval face and fairly wide eyes of the striding statue show a relation to Thutmoside images, although the mouth is more florid. A bronze sphinx of King Siamun (TIP-3; 978–959) may have come from Tanis, and shows a small, round face and rather widely smiling mouth.[16]

The bronze sphinx of Menkheperre is often ascribed to King Thutmose III of the 18th Dynasty,[17] but I offer here brief remarks relevant to a provisional placement in Dynasty 21. The Menkheperre sphinx is preserved as part of a larger element – perhaps a furniture fitting or a locking system – and has no demarcation of wings on its shoulders and back, and in these ways differs from either the sphinx of Siamun or the Brooklyn sphinx of a Sheshonq (TIP-12). On the other hand, the small Menkheperre sphinx has: 1) like the standing bronze of the same High Priest (TIP-1), but seemingly atypically for Thutmose III, no uraeus; 2) a nemes with narrow wings and rounded dome closer to some nemes of the Third Intermediate Period than any of Dynasty 18;[18] and 3) features which, though the face has been called

[14] For the silver sarcophagus of Psusennes see Montet, *Psousennès*, pl. 102; the gold mask inv. 479, pls. 104–5; the mask of Wendjebaendjed inv. 687, pls. 47 and 48; the gilded wood head of the sarcophagus of Amenemope pls. 130–1, and the gold mask of the same, inv. no. 641, pl. 132. Also for good recent color see Stierlin, *Gold*: Psusennes' coffin p. 141, and gold mask pp. 142–3 and 146; Wendjebaendjed's mask p. 170; the gilded wood face from Amenemope's sarcophagus, p. 176.

[15] See also cat. 134, said to have the name of Menkheperre, but not included in the analysis or discussion here.

[16] I am grateful to Joseph Hill Wilner for study photographs of this piece.

[17] Most recently, however, Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 31–2 and note 27, while leaning toward an 18th dynasty date, in note 28 points to the possibility that useful information regarding its date may be forthcoming from a study of black bronzes in the Louvre.

[18] See the discussion below of TIP-8.

Thutmoside, are heavier and in profile more markedly curved than anything from early dynasty 18 or even among the statues or coffin images listed above and clearly datable to Phase A. It could aptly be described as exaggerating Thutmoside/early Ramesside elements and is in some ways comparable to pieces from Phase B, for example, the small gold triad of Osorkon II (TIP-A; plate 12). Furthermore, it relates rather well to a few other bronzes that can be assigned stylistically to Phase A.

Royal Bronzes datable stylistically to Phase A

Two pieces not datable by inscription can yet be assigned to Dynasty 21.

A small striding black bronze king with missing arms and wearing the khat (TIP-4; plate 9) has strongly Thutmoside features, consisting of a slightly hooked nose and small lipped smiling mouth. He also shows lines under the throat, a feature with a rather precise date of inception at some time during the reign of Amenhotep III and then found very frequently throughout the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Periods.[19] This combination of characteristics itself points to the Third Intermediate Period. The frontlet without separation from the ear tabs, and the high spring of the uraeus would also point to a Third Intermediate Period date rather than to the 18th Dynasty.[20] Because it seems to me closest to the reasonably specific, fairly buoyant, Thutmoside images projected by the Menkheperre striding statue (TIP-1) and to a lesser extent the Osorkon I striding statue (TIP-6) to be discussed shortly, I would place this statue in Phase A or possibly early B.

Also probably datable to Phase A is Smendes (TIP-5; plate 10) with his round to square face, short chin and wide smiling mouth which relate to those of a group including the Menkheperre images TIP-1 and -2, the sphinx of Siamun (TIP-3), and TIP-4 just discussed. Although sometimes conjectured to be the king of Dynasty 21 or one of the two High Priests of this name from Dynasty 21 (son of Menkheperre) and early 22 (son of Osorkon I), the statuette is simply inscribed as a priest; he is included in the listing here as a significant bronze image often discussed in connection with royal images.

Royal Bronzes dated to Phase B by inscription, and other dated comparanda[21]

Though some kind of stylistic evolution can be posited based on securely dated material of Phases B and C, the undated material poses many problems whose solutions are not immediately apparent. Therefore, the material definitely datable to either Phase B or Phase C will be laid out together for reference purposes before proceeding to discussion of the pieces that may be stylistically assigned to either period.

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[19] Fazzini, "Several Objects," pp. 113–114 discusses this feature. The feature appears rarely later, for example during the reign of Amasis (e.g. LPPt-16), in selected contexts (see discussion there).

[20] See the general discussion of the dating implications of these features pp. 8–9 and footnotes in Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III." The statue (CG42197) referred to as Osorkon II in footnote 11 there is, in fact, Osorkon III, see Kitchen, *TIP* para. 74 p. 94.

[21] Not included in the discussion of Phase B or C are a series of glassy faience images of one king and various Chiefs of the Ma. They are not really well dated. They present a facial type that does not seem to refer back very clearly to either Thutmoside or Ramesside prototypes, and in that sense relate better to what one sees in royal bronzes during Phase C. For a recent discussion see Berlandini, "Tête." Add now one faience example naming Rudamon, see O, Perdu, *RdE* 53 (2002), 158–177

Dated material from Phase B (945–818), the period before the institution of parallel dynasties, consists of: a striding bronze statuette of Osorkon I with *nw* pots said to be from the Delta north of Heliopolis (TIP-6; plate 11), 924–889; the gold mask of Sheshonq II (ca. 890) excavated at Tanis;[22] from the reign of Osorkon II (874–850), the small gold triad excavated at Tanis (TIP-A; plate 12)[23] and a kneeling statue proffering a stela, the statue's head in Philadelphia and the body in Cairo, also from Tanis and discussed above; and the bronze statue of Karomama (870–825) which presumably stood in a chapel at Karnak (TIP-B; plate 13).[24] Osorkon I and Karomama relate best to Thutmoside images, while Sheshonq II and Osorkon II with their strongly curved profiles and thicker mouths suggest an elaboration of an early Ramesside prototype with mouths perhaps influenced by the late Ramesside types.

Royal Bronzes dated to Phase C by inscription, and other dated comparanda

Phase C, the period of overlap of Dynasties 22/23/24 (818–713) includes the following dated material: the mid-section (chest to knees) of a standing bronze statue of Pedubaste, the first king of Dynasty 23, reigned 818–793 (TIP-9; plate 18);[25] the kneeling limestone statue of Osorkon III pushing a bark, from Karnak, reigned 777–749; the bronze kneeling statuette offering *nw* pots of Pami of Dynasty 22 of Tanis, reigned 773–767 (TIP-11; plate 20); a small bronze sphinx of Sheshonq V (767–730) (TIP-12, plate 21), less likely Sheshonq III or IV (825–773) whose placement here I discuss below; the kneeling statue with arms bent and palms turned inward of Peftjaubast, a minor king of Herakleopolis, ca. 750–730? (TIP-13; plate 23), and a small gold statuette of Harsaphes of Herakleopolis bearing the king's name on the underside of the base and excavated at that city (TIP-E);[26] the small kneeling prince Pedise of Athribis (TIP-15; plate 25), contemporary of Akanosh of Sebennytos, estimated 750–740; and the large bronze in Athens of Takushit (TIP-F; plate 22), daughter of Akanosh of Sebennytos, ca. 730.[27] Finally, an elaborately decorated bronze base of a Great Chief of the Ma Sheshonq (TIP-16) has been identified as probably Sheshonq II of Busiris attested ca. 670; he would be an example of a Third Intermediate Period dynast surviving during Kushite dominion. The base would presumably have held a bronze statue which is calculated to have been 40 to 50 cm high.

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22 As above, Montet, *Psousennès*, inv. 214, pl. 22; also Stierlin, *Gold*, p. 190.

23 Louvre E6204; illustrated and with bibliography in *Tanis*, pp. 172–175; also Stierlin, *Gold*, pp. 196–7.

24 Karomama is considered to be the grand-daughter of Osorkon I; references to the principal studies on her identity and date are given in the entry in *Tanis*, pp. 177–180; the definitive publication of her own and other relevant inscriptions is Jacquet-Gordon, "Karomama." A number of the God's Wives/Divine Adoratresses, always seemingly close female relatives of the king, and other high female temple functionaries, had very large fine bronze statues. Besides Karomama and Takushit mentioned below, who are well-dated and offer comparanda, there are twelve others traceable, and dating from the Third Intermediate Period through the Saite Period, see Delange, "Bronze méconnu," pp. 67–75 for this group and references to a number of recent studies of particular statues. Further discussion of the possible context for Karomama and some of the other statues in a bronze cache at Karnak early in the 19th century is found in Taylor, "Hollow-cast bronzes," pp. 9–14, esp. p. 14.

25 While the chronological and historical position of Pedubaste *sꜣ Bꜣst*, the king represented by this statue, seems clear enough, his place in the sequence of kings named Pedubaste is disputed. Therefore I avoid the use of the designations first, second and third.

26 The Harsaphes statuette is discussed and illustrated on p. 154 of Russmann, "Royal Statuette."

27 Yoyotte, "Principautés," p. 160.

The small Brooklyn sphinx of a Sheshonq (TIP-12) has a name panel which probably reads: *nṯr nfr* (*Ššnq*) *nṯr ḥqꜣ Wꜣst*, but the reading of the epithet as *nṯr ḥqꜣ ꞽIwnw* cannot be entirely excluded.[28] The first epithet is that of Sheshonq V (767–730). The second – less likely – epithet is used by a Hedjkheperre Sheshonq, until recently identified with Sheshonq I, and by Sheshonq III.[29] Recently on good and chronologically satisfying grounds it has been postulated that there was a second Hedjkheperre Sheshonq besides Sheshonq I, and that it is this second Hedjkheperre Sheshonq who used the epithet "God, Ruler of Heliopolis." This individual becomes Sheshonq IV, and would have reigned between Sheshonq III and Pami, ca. 786–773.[30] Since Sheshonq III also uses the epithet "God, Ruler of Heliopolis," if the less likely reading of the epithet is pursued, the small Brooklyn sphinx could be identified with either Sheshonq III or Sheshonq IV, that is would fall in the range 825–773.

Of importance to the discussion here is the fact that the small sphinx gives a relatively well-dated example of a style of features – wide open eyes and small level mouth – that conveys a serious, almost child-like expression. This childlike cast of features in this instance certainly dates to Phase C, and probably to mid to later part of Phase C.

Therefore, while at least one image exists which follows a relatively Thutmoside model (Osorkon III), the array from Phase C is much more diverse. There are a variety of facial types not easily attachable to New Kingdom models and one relatively well-dated distinctive type, the "child-like" type. There is a clear example in Peftjaubast (TIP-13) of the voluminous torso of Fazzini's second milieu. Other points of interest will be brought out specifically below in the proper places.

Royal Bronzes and other royal metal statuary datable stylistically to Phase B

One statue stylistically justifies juxtaposition with images of Phase B, in particular the mask of Sheshonq II and the triad of Osorkon II, described above as derivative of early Ramesside images. This is a striding king offering *maat* in the Louvre (TIP-C; plate 14), which is actually of silver rather than bronze but is included here for the stylistic and iconographic information it offers about metal statuary. The king is dated by the Louvre to the early Ramesside Period because of the curved Ramesside profile, the cap crown, and the childlike proportions of the body felt to be a holdover from the late Eighteenth Dynasty; a cartouche on the belt buckle is not readable although Seti's name is not excluded.[31] For a number of reasons, I think the piece

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[28] Richard Fazzini kindly made this piece available to me and examined its inscription with me in summer 1998. In the position beside the *ḥqꜣ* there is a vertical sign, with a short diagonal stroke adjacent to its upper part. It is difficult to understand this as anything but the *Wꜣst* sign.

[29] Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, p. 270; her text discusses the various occurrences of this epithet with coronation or personal names of then-Sheshonq I and Sheshonq III.

[30] Kitchen, *TIP*, introduction para. Y on pp. xxv–xxvi (Kitchen notes the suggestion was originally made by Aidan Dodson), as follows: "The existence of a Sheshonq IV solves a number of chronological difficulties: a Great Chief of the Libu Niumateped in office in year 8 of Sheshonq V no longer need be an entirely separate person from another under office in year 10 of Hedjkheperre Sheshonq 'God, Ruler of Heliopolis;' in fact, the highest attested year date of Sheshonq III is year 39 or 40 though Apis burial records showed that 52 years elapsed from his accession to that of Pami, so that the new Sheshonq IV fills very well a gap in the record."

[31] Christiane Ziegler, "Jeune pharaon," pp. 181–185. The piece is well illustrated in color in the recent book by Andreu, *Louvre*, p. 143.

is more likely a creation of the Third Intermediate Period from roughly the time of Osorkon II.[32] Most telling are the facial features: while the missing eye inlays exaggerate the size of the eyes, the profile is strongly curved and the lips are thick and prominent. The features are not like those of early Ramesside statuary, but are, in fact, similar to those noted of Sheshonq II and Osorkon II. Moreover, the slim slightly hunched body of the statuette is not a type known to last beyond beyond the time of Tutankhamun into that of Seti I as the Louvre's dating would require, although the traditions of metalwork could be somewhat different than those for stone statuary. However, the type of the slim torso and slightly hunched shoulders is well-illustrated already by the small black bronze (TIP-4) just discussed, and the slim body is certainly a Third Intermediate Period metal type current before the classical modeling usually associated with the Third Intermediate Period really developed.[33]

One statue (TIP-7; plate 15) is inscribed for Usermaatre Sotepenimen, and is usually attributed to Osorkon II (874–850). This identification was proposed by Jean Yoyotte based on a graphic peculiarity of that king's name and a general similarity of the profile of this piece to relief representations of Osorkon II. However, the graphic peculiarity may also be characteristic of Pedubaste (818–793) of Dynasty 23 who shares this prenomen.[34]

The features are characterized by an oval, full facial shape with a full chin and small round ball of the chin, the smooth curve of quite symmetrical upper and lower eyelids with narrow cosmetic lines departing from the outer point, and the continuous curve of the upper lip which is slightly wider than the lower lip. These features are not unlike the smoothly composed features of some reliefs that appear with Osorkon II and continue through at least Sheshonq III as described and dated by Richard Fazzini.[35] They are not, however, closely similar to any of the royal metal or stone sculptural representations of Osorkon II with their strongly curved profiles and – in metal at least – thickened mouths which have been noted above. The features are closer to the more nearly Thutmoside type seen in Phase B in the bronze statue of Osorkon I (TIP-6; plate 11) or that of Karomama (TIP-B; plate 13), particularly the latter with her subdued expression, oval face, slightly hooked nose, and small mouth whose upper lip is slightly thicker than the lower. It is certainly possible that a representation of the reign of Osorkon II might have shown him in some version of this style. It is interesting that both the Karomama bronze and reputedly the bronze in question can be traced to Thebes, though of course metalwork is eminently transportable.[36] Notably, the torso of the bronze in question is not dissimilar to the fairly non-emphatic modeling seen in the bronze of Osorkon I (TIP-6).

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32 To my knowledge, Edna Russmann was the first to suggest a Third Intermediate Period date for this piece from images published long before it reappeared on the art market after being many years unseen in the Béhague collection: "Royal Statuette," n. 46 on p. 155. I do not know her present opinion as to the date of the piece or how she views the Louvre's evaluation of its date.

33 See Aldred, "Amun;" see my cumulative remarks further below in this chapter on torso modeling during the Third Intermediate Period.

34 The peculiarity consists of raising the *ỉ* of *ỉmn* to stand in front of the *Wsr* of Usermaatre in vertical writings of the name. See Bonhême, *Noms royaux,* p. 205; and for Osorkon II, p. 163.

35 Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 116 and his figures 1 and 2.

36 For Karomama, see note 24 above; the Osorkon statuette can be traced to a sale in the 1940s where it was identified as part of the Gayer-Anderson collection and given a Theban provenance, and thence to

The one known sculpture of Pedubaste (TIP-9), who was the first king of Dynasty 23 and recognized both in the north and in Thebes, is only preserved from just above a very elongated waist to the knees and so offers no very good assistance in this instance. The face of the statuette under discussion here also has at least a superficial relation to the somewhat later round face with small chin of the bronze statuette of Pami (TIP-11; plate 20) ca. 770. The latter, however, differs considerably in close details of eyes, chin and lips and, moreover, shows very clear tripartition of the torso.

In sum, it is inscriptionally possible that the statue under discussion represents either Osorkon II or Pedubaste; stylistic evidence would certainly admit the former. As for the latter, no direct comparisons are possible, but, as subsequent discussion will indicate, Phase C bronzes tend to show greater divergence from the Thutmoside-influenced image seen in this bronze.

The dating of the gold Amun

The gold Amun (TIP-D; plate 16) is included here as an important image which offers further stylistic information for metal statuary in particular.[37]

While also of gold and having certain details of treatment, such as the sharp vermilion line,[38] in common with the gold amuletic triad of Osorkon II, the general tenor of Amun's features is somewhat different – quieter and almost without affect; the shape of the face is distinctly more angular, and the chin is very rounded. An interesting detail is the raised iris of the eye.

Although the Amun is not closely similar to either of the Theban or possible Theban bronzes (TIP-B and -7) discussed above, it could be fairly said to present an image nearer theirs and a Thutmoside prototype than to that of the Osorkon II triad or statue. And, perhaps interestingly, one of the rumored findspots noted by Aldred is Thebes.

Marked irises, meaning irises indicated by relief (generally the case when verifiable) or at least by incision rather than simply in the paint, became popular in the Third Intermediate Period. Attention has been paid to raised irises, mainly in relief, by Richard Fazzini, who suggests they may be characteristic of northern work, and finds them particularly in pieces he would assign to the period of Osorkon II through Sheshonq III, though, indeed, the only inscriptionally dated pieces he includes for the particular detail are later than Osorkon II.[39] They are found in several of the statuettes discussed here as fairly closely datable: the gold Amun (TIP-D), the Baltimore bronze discussed next (TIP-8), and Pami (TIP-11), in the first two cases associated with fully rimmed eyes. A survey, however, with additional attention to coffins and statuary finds evidence that such raised irises might occur already in Dynasty 21 funerary material (the only available evidence is drawings, which may not be reliable), are almost certainly appearing by the death of Sheshonq II in 890,

records indicating it entered the collection before 1914. I owe discovery of the 1940s sale notice to Dr. Nicholas Reeves.

37 Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1412, and see Aldred, "Amun."

38 "Vermilion line" is a term employed by Bernard Bothmer to describe the Egyptian manner of emphasizing the edge of the lips by a double line or by a relief differentiation. He explains the term in "Ankh-khonsu," p. 77 n. 15.

39 "Several Objects," pp. 116–7 and note 39. Although mostly concerned with relief, he mentions the bronze statue of Pami (TIP-11).

appear widely with Osorkon II and then Sheshonq III, and occur on through the time of Pami/Osorkon III and somewhat beyond.[40] Bearing in mind the weighted and limited range of the survey, they may indeed occur mostly in northern works, but occur also in Kushite works found in the south. In the end, it is not possible to use them as more than general indicators of date – as Fazzini has already noted – without refinement of the observations by checking numerous actual pieces.

Aldred's insightful dating of the gold Amun to the Third Intermediate Period set up the statuette's distinctive torso modeling as the type of the period. This is a version of tripartite modeling involving division of the torso into three distinct regions – breast, independent rib cage, and independent round belly area with a purely rounded hip contour and round navel.[41] Indeed, the statuette provides a very clear instance of the phenomenon. However, this structure is not the only or even most frequent type of torso modeling characteristic of Third Intermediate Period metalwork. Perhaps the chronologically earliest type of modeling – seen, for example, during Dynasty 21 in the standing bronze of Menkheperre (TIP-1) and in TIP-4 and still in probably Dynasty 22 with TIP-C – is characterized by fairly narrow but well modeled shoulders and a slim, sometimes rather tubular, torso. More attentive and softer modeling occurs with the bronze of Osorkon I (TIP-6), the torso discussed above of Osorkon II (TIP-7), and that of Horus in the gold triad of Osorkon II (TIP-A), the latter as Aldred noted with some emphasis on the muscular nexus connecting the chest and the belly area, a treatment of the torso which continues into the Kushite Period. In the kneeling bronze TIP-8 discussed below and the standing bronze of

[40] The list of occurrences I can note of marked (carved detail indicated in drawings or photos, possibly though not necessarily relief) or raised irises (indicated by definitive photos, personal observation or specific observation by another) follows chronologically (references to Montet abbreviated *Osorkon II*, *Psousennès*, and *Chéchanq III*): for Psusennes I (1040–990), marked on relief (*Psousennès* pl. 11), marked in chased image of Nut inside lid of king's silver coffin (*Psousennès* pl. 103), marked on reliefs of Ankhefenmut son of Psusennes (*Psousennès* pl. 37–38); marked on relief of Wendjebaendjed courtier of Psusennes (*Psousennès*, pl. 40); for Sheshonq II (890), raised (*possibly* rather sunk) irises on miniature silver coffin (visible in *Tanis*, p. 217); for Osorkon II (874–850), marked irises on relief in chamber of Takelot I buried by Osorkon II (*Osorkon II* pl. 37; for this attribution, different than Montet's, see Kitchen, *TIP*, pp. xxii–xxiii, para. U–V), marked on relief (*Osorkon II* pl. 32), raised (or possibly sunk) in sheet ba-bird of Hornakht, son of Osorkon II (visible in Stierlin, *Gold*, p. 209); for Sheshonq III (825–773; revised 825–787, see discussion on p. 66 above), marked on relief on wall in the tomb of Osorkon II but erected by Sheshonq III (*Osorkon II* pl. 21; dating according to von Känel, "Notes épigraphique," pp. 48–49), marked on relief in tomb of Sheshonq III (*Chéchanq III* pl. 34), raised on relief of Sheshonq III, seemingly from Tell Umm el-Harb (Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 116 and fig. 2; currently in Swiss private collection, see Page-Gasser, *Augenblicke*, pp. 208–9; now on display in Sammlung Ludwig, Zurich); for "Queen Kama" (conjecturally c. 800 and mother of Osorkon III, but she may be another woman only generally known, see p. 181 of Leahy, "Abydos"), raised on goddess figures of Tell Muqdam (Leontopolis) pectoral (visible with magnification in Stierlin, *Gold*, pp. 204–205); for Pami (773–767), raised in bronze statuette (TIP-11); for the Kushites, raised on head of a statue of Amun from Sanam, Temple of Taharqa, and statue of the Divine Consort Amenirdis from Karnak, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG565 (the detail in both noted in Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II, cat. 84 p. 173). Also, see Russmann, "Mentuemhat," p. 11, note. 57 re the relief iris in Late Period Assasif tombs. Interestingly, the pupils of a silver female with the name of Necho II are recessed (Becker, "Silver Statuette," p. 41 and figure 8); also see entries on cat. 127 (LPPt-6) and also cat. 298 (LPPt-7).

[41] Tripartition, or classic tripartition, is a term used by Bernard Bothmer for the rather clear lateral tripartition of the late 26th dynasty, and is discussed in the relevant chapter. But there are other types of tripartite division of the torso and the term needs to be understood according to chronological context. Moreover, Pedubaste, for example, is damaged and difficult to orient: unless properly set up and photographed so as to avoid the effects of foreshortening, he seems to display a much more compact body and more markedly tripartite modeling than is actually the case.

Pedubaste TIP-9, an elegant type of modeling somewhat reminiscent of late Dynasty 18, despite the fact that the belts are worn more level, is seen: high hipbones, long rounded abdomens, and heavy thighs, actually distended in the kneeling example where they press against the calves. In fact, as can be most clearly observed in the case of Pedubaste TIP-9 (plate 18), this is the type of modeling that grades into the distinctive type of Third Intermediate Period tripartite modeling showing separate breast, chest, and narrow waist above finely rounded hips with smooth rounded belly, as in the Amun and in the statuette of Pami (TIP-11; plate 20). Yet another variant of torso organization develops, seemingly in Phase C, which Richard Fazzini has already described as a penchant for heavy upper bodies, as, for example, in Peftjaubast (TIP-13);[42] this type also sometimes occurs with strong hip areas marked by thick belts that also give that area strong independent form (for example, TIP-10 discussed below). Proportions are even affected, with heads smaller in relation to wide shoulders and overblown torsos. So, while several types of marked torso articulations are seen in the Third Intermediate Period, and even within the more restricted span of Phase C, so-called classic Third Intermediate Period torso modeling is not very frequently seen.

Features of the gold Amun would seem to place it near the Osorkon II triad, near Karomama and the bronze discussed above of Osorkon II. The serious tenor of its features, however, is certainly consistent with a somewhat later date near two almost affectless bronzes (TIP-12 discussed above and TIP-8 discussed below). Likewise the very purely and smoothly marked type of tripartition of the gold Amun is a type not clearly seen in an example well-dated to the earlier period, however, but is closely related to Pedubaste and very clearly seen with Pami, both dated examples from somewhat later.

Royal Bronzes dated stylistically to Phase C

Baltimore's Usermaatre Sotepenimen (TIP-8; plate 17) is of uncertain ownership. It shows a small face, nearly symmetrically curved eyes, rimmed upper and lower lids with the eye lines departing directly from the outer corner, wide eyes with raised pupils, a receding chin, and strong torso articulation accentuated by the swell of the thighs pressed against the backs of the lower legs. The high dome of the nemes[43] and the lozenge pattern of the belt[44] are rare features. The former is seemingly diagnostic

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[42] See Russmann, "Royal Statuette," esp. pp. 152–4, further elaborated by Fazzini as discussed above.

[43] High domes of the nemes and khat headdresses – sometimes with marked rounding and correspondingly sharp peaks rather like Dynasty 13 kings and sometimes with narrowed side-flaps – are found in the bronze Osorkon I (TIP-6), Usermaatre Sotepenimen (TIP-7), the piece currently being discussed, and TIP-14 discussed below.

[44] The same belt is seen on the bronze Osorkon I (TIP-6) and on Pedubaste (TIP-9) where an elaborate lozenge patterned apron hanging beneath a leopard head element is also included. These elements have antecedents; the feather elements seem to go back to a royal costume which represents a feathered belt and apron, which may appear already in the late Middle Kingdom, certainly appears by the time of Thutmose III (see Giza-Podgorski, "Plume," re royal plume dress), and often in somewhat adapted form appears fairly often in the royal tomb paintings of the later New Kingdom at Thebes, e.g., KV 57 (Horemhab), PM I, 2nd ed., part 2, 568 (3) 4 and (4) 2, and QV 55 (Amenherkhepeshef, son of Ramesses III), PM I, 2nd ed., part 2, 759 (8) 6. Betsy Bryan discusses use of the panther head with this costume on statuettes of Amenhotep III associated with Neferhotep, and feels the divinity and rejuvenation of the king are emphasized at the same time, perhaps in the context of the hebsed, see "Steatite." (Panther, leopard and cheetah are assimilated in religious iconography.) Occurrences of the complete set – feathered belt and

of the Third Intermediate Period and the latter is known two other times from the Third Intermediate Period, but neither helps much to refine a dating. Raised pupils offer a certain narrowing of the options, as discussed previously, northern works being perhaps more likely, and perhaps kings of the time of Osorkon II through at least Pami.

Two particular orthographic features of the Baltimore king's name yield some additional narrowing of the date: Usermaatre is written with the goddess ideogram, while the Sotepenimen epithet is written with the reed leaf preceding (almost collapsed with) the *stp*, the *mn* characters above the *stp* and the genitival *n* below it. Of the ten kings of the Third Intermediate Period who had this name and epithet, Amenemope of Dynasty 21 and Rudamun of Dynasty 23 can be eliminated, but grounds seem to me insufficient to exclude the other contenders: Osorkon II, Sheshonq III, Pedubaste, Iuput I, Osorkon III, Pami, Takelot III, and Iuput II.[45]

However, the Baltimore piece's date range can perhaps be compressed again by a further stylistic comparison. The king's gaze is wide-eyed, his mouth serious, and the overall impression is one of sobriety or even lack of affect. The face is unlike any of the representations of Osorkon II discussed above, and also unlike the Iuput, probably II, representation on a plaque in Brooklyn.[46] Even if these dissimilarities help to eliminate these two kings, still a seventy-year interval remains between the beginning of the reign of Sheshonq III in 825 and the end of the reign of Takelot III in 757. The Baltimore piece can be related, though not directly compared to the gold Amun which I suggested above might somewhat postdate Osorkon II and to the small sphinx of Sheshonq [probably] V which also has a wide-eyed expressionless face. A date in the last quarter of the 9th to the middle 8th century seems reasonable.

One bronze has the name Osorkon Meriamun in a cartouche-like pendant on his chest (TIP-10; plate 19). However, four Osorkons had this nomen and epithet. While it is unlikely to be Osorkon IV who is known to have used the epithet only once, the orthography and epigraphy of the inscription do not tend strongly to support one identification over another among Osorkon I through III.[47] The head is small in proportion to the body. The small face has rounded eyes dominated by strongly graphic cosmetic lines and a very small chin.

The rendering of the eyes is surely influenced by Ramesside models.[48] On the

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apron with uraei and panther head – in the Ramesside Period include: for Ramesses III, CG 42150 in Legrain, *Statues*, and a relief seen in plate 137 of Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV; for Ramesses VI, pls. 34 and 62 of Piankoff, *Ramesses VI* where he offers to Osiris. It is possible the costume had resonance in the Third Intermediate Period in connection with the interest in the king as the reborn Horus.

[45] Amenemope shows *ʾImn* always preceding *stp* and facing the Maat figure (Bonhème, *Noms royaux*, pp. 77–79); Rudamun spells *maat* with phonetic rather than ideogrammatic signs (pp. 202–203). For the other kings, Osorkon II and Pedubaste are good possibilities if modern typography is not to blame (pp. 161–163, see her remark on p. 163; pp. 205–6, with her remark p. 206), Sheshonq III is more often Sotepenre and apparently rather straightforward (pp. 117–8), and for the others evidence simply is not sufficient for me to discount them as possibilities.

[46] The latter is illustrated in Fazzini, *Egyptian Art*, p. 69. For discussions of the provenance and assignment of the plaque, see Fazzini, "Several Objects," note 25.

[47] See "Les Rois Osorkon," Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, pp. 142–179; Osorkon II and III sometimes can omit the distinguishing epithets Son of Isis and Son of Bast.

[48] As for example the colossal head from a group illustrated on p. 52 of *Tanis*, or New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 34.2.2, head of Amenmesse, illustrated and properly attributed in Cardon, "Amenmesse."

whole, however, the small face and features are closer to a Thutmoside image than to an early Ramesside image. They could be related to Thutmoside tendencies discussed above in the bronze of Osorkon I and bronzes of the period of Osorkon II, and they also seem reminiscent, particularly in the detail of the very small chin, of Cairo CG 42197, the statue of Osorkon III (777–749). The statuette's long flattish almost rectangular torso has affinities with a type of torso modeling seen in Phase C (compare Peftjaubast, TIP-13, which exemplifies in sculpture the relief types Richard Fazzini discussed for the later Libyan Period, my Phase C) that I have discussed above. On the basis of the features and this later torso style the piece probably represents Osorkon III.

A bronze in Amsterdam (TIP-14; plate 24) has two short lines under the throat that speak for an attribution to Amenhotep III through the Third Intermediate Period or just possibly later, as discussed above.[49] The king has no features indicative of a late 18th or, indeed, New Kingdom date, however. The rounded dome and marked peaks of the nemes speak for an attribution to the Third Intermediate Period. The king's torso likewise fits within the parameters established for the Third Intermediate Period: the modeling certainly shows strong segmentation which was popular in different versions, and especially in Phase C. In particular, the rectangular torso is like that seen in the Osorkon (TIP-10) discussed above. The features of the king are, however, unlike those of any of the statuettes discussed above. They are not entirely easy to bring into focus because of damage (and possible repair? – especially on the proper left side of the face), but the possible bulge of the eye[50] and especially the wide rather heavy and serious mouth may relate to the "realism" seen in some Third Intermediate Period images, as Fazzini illustrates by calling attention to a relief excavated at Memphis from a small chapel normally dated to Sheshonq III.[51] The realistic milieu is represented by a number of pieces seen throughout the Third Intermediate Period, including Phase C. I would tend to attribute the king under discussion here to Phase C because of the shape of his torso.[52]

Other bronze kings datable to the Third Intermediate Period

Numerous other statues offer no inscriptional clues and seem to offer less specific stylistic clues, but certainly or almost certainly date to the Third Intermediate Period. Some of these that offer particular points will be discussed here.

Two should be noted because they are significant statues, excavated, and a strong case can be made for a general dating to the period.

One of these is TIP-17 (plate 26), excavated at North Saqqara in a late deposit associated with the Sacred Animal Necropolis.[53] The king wears a white crown whose

[49] N.B., the king's arms are apparently restored.

[50] Compare the smaller eyes of the Osorkon Meriamun discussed above which show a similar cutting back of the eyeball at its upper and lower edges so that it is rounded.

[51] Fazzini, "Several Objects," fig. 4 on p. 137, discussed on his pp. 122–3, with museological information and references in his n. 84 on p. 132. See also my note 11.

[52] Cat. 76, known to me only through a small exhibition catalog, has an elongated torso that might fit the stylistic parameters of this period. The piece was called Kushite, but has no Kushite regalia. The exaggeratedly harsh face, long beard, and the arm slots behind the shoulders (not standard for small royal figures in the Kushite and Saite Periods) could also point to the period discussed here.

[53] I am grateful to Professor H.S. Smith for providing information about the context of the piece and

diameter begins to decrease only above its midsection, with rather long rounded tabs above the ears, and a low placed uraeus which has a tail extending midway up the crown. The face has rather thick plastic brows and a plastic upper eye rim, both elongated by cosmetic lines; the nose is curved and the mouth small and unsmiling against an angular jaw; lines may be seen on the throat. The king has broad shoulders and separately cast arms set by means of an interlocking tab into a slot on the top of the shoulder. He wears a belt with groups of vertical incisions.[54] With one hand he proffers a *wedjat* eye on a basket, the other hand raised behind the offering. The tangs under the king's feet are relatively narrow.[55]

The white crown does not match the one so far attested white crown of the Third Intermediate Period, that of Pami, with its slenderer shape and marked frontlet, nor those of a few other pieces discussed below. Still, while the king's features show Ramesside influence, in the aggregate his features, especially the flat expressionless mouth, have their best relationship to pieces of late Phase B and Phase C such as TIP-8 and TIP-12. The *wedjat* offering with bronzes is quite rare.[56] To my knowledge it does not appear in relief even as late as the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, but it is popular in the reliefs of Osorkon I at Bubastis.[57] Features of the construction of the bronze, including the slotting system and the hollow head possibly indicative of two cores, are very sophisticated and relate well to what is known of Third Intermediate Period bronzes.[58] The presence of fortuitously noted copper core supports indicates a date not later than the Third Intermediate Period.[59]

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data allowing it to be tracked down in the Cairo Museum. I have myself seen it briefly and am also very grateful to my colleague Deborah Schorsch who obtained access to the piece and made slides and important observations with the assistance of Curator Adel Mahmoud of the Cairo Museum. The finding of this and the next bronze in the Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis deposits might seem to speak against a date so early as the Third Intermediate Period, since it is thought that most of the discovered traces of construction and use in the area date from late dynasty 26 at the earliest through the Ptolemaic Period; however, a good deal of the material in the deposits seems to date from much earlier periods. Harry Smith has stated that some of the deposits might contain material removed from Memphite temples after depredations by the Persians, see "Saqqara, Nekropolen, SpZt," coll. 425–426. Recent publication of the statuary by Elizabeth Hastings identified a number of pieces from as early as the New Kingdom in the deposits, see Hastings, *Sculpture, e.g.*, pp. 1–5, 9–13. Also, Harry Smith personal communication, January 15, 1998.

54 The priest Smendes (TIP-5) has a similar belt, with vertical incisions separated by spaces, while the gold Amun (TIP-D) has a belt with vertical incisions separated by squares with an omphalos.

55 Tangs of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period seem to show considerable variability, but by the Late Period tangs were standardized as thick rectangular projections. See the comments of Deborah Schorsch, p. 12 of Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III."

56 The only other example known to me is a very small bronze king in Edinburgh (cat. 120).

57 Naville, *Bubastis* shows Osorkon I offering the *wedjat* on the basket in plates 39 and 40 to Bastet and Re-Harakhty, and in pl. 50 to Atum, Shu and Bastet; in pl. 41 Osorkon II offers the *wedjat* on a basket to Bastet. The *wedjat* on a basket is also found in royal jewelry since the time of Tutankhamun at least, and is rather popular in jewelry from Tanis, e.g. *Tanis*, pp. 64 and 264 and discussions, where it is suggested that the solar associations of the sign were highlighted by the Bubastite kings because of their relation to Bastet. The offering continues after the Third Intermediate Period; see for example Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, offering WAJ 1 on page 368, see tables on p. 280. For the meaning of the *wedjat* eye offering, see the chapter on the role of royal bronzes.

58 TIP-8 can be compared technologically.

59 Copper core supports are rarely preserved so as to be seen; core supports in general tend to corrode away due to their large exposed surface area. Copper core supports were also noted in the statuette of Osorkon Meriamun discussed above (TIP-10). Iron core supports are the kind usually known from traces among Late Period bronzes, and they may well have been used already from the Third Intermediate Period since iron armatures are certainly found in the large bronzes of the period (Taylor, "Hollow-cast

Another king from the same deposit at North Saqqara (TIP-18; plate 27) might well also date to the Third Intermediate Period. It is possible some deformation occurred during manufacture: the king's torso appears thick and unmodeled, his belt extremely thin (the belt of TIP-1 is also quite thin), and the form of his lower torso and kilt, such as one can see them, rather dead. The figure has, however, a strikingly pretty face owing mainly to his wide mouth with full curves and a slightly wider upper lip, rather similar to the mouths seen in the gold Tanis mask of Psusennes or that of Sheshonq II.[60] The inner ends of the king's brows seem to represent a single line across the top of the nose, the outer extensions appear to slant downwards. His eyes show unusually prominent irises although without close study it is not possible to state that the irises were in fact intended to appear raised since the eye area is rather rough.[61] One ear lobe was marked as if earring holes may have been intended. Arms were separately cast and have been lost, but were attached by means of a tenon which interlocked with a slot on the back of the shoulder. The king wears a broad collar of two tiers with drops hanging from the lowest row. A separate uraeus was inserted on his brow at the frontlet of his nemes headdress.

The facial features certainly do not approximate those of any king following the Third Intermediate Period. The continuous brow line – if the appearance of this feature is not deceptive owing to the adjacent large hole for insertion of the uraeus – is unusual for this period, though a number of the Tanite coffins and masks have rather straight brow lines that seem to dip only very slightly at the nose. The possible earring holes and possible raised irises, the rich but subdued contours of the lips, and the complex slotting system and inlaid uraeus suggest the king dates to the Third Intermediate Period.

A third bronze (TIP-19; plate 28) is quite small but represents an important development in bronze royal statuary, which can thereby be dated to this time. It was first known in the Amherst sale in 1922, then resurfaced briefly and was published in an art market sale catalog in 1977. The king has a New Kingdom-derived triangular face with large eyes and a flat mouth. There is a large hole in the upper part of his nemes, and a uraeus with a tail that *seems* to be coiled in a ring sits on his forehead. He holds *nw* pots. Tangs are located under his toes and knees, but they are located in such a way that either the king has to lean forward, with his face and offering tilting oddly, or his knees had to be raised on a higher level so that he looks forward in a normal way.

Dating to this period is likely, though the face bears shows a certain affinity to types of New Kingdom archaizing that also occur in the Saite Period. However, a beard would be unusual in the Saite Period, lines under the throat increase the likelihood of the earlier date,[62] and the odd post-Middle Kingdom conjunction of what seems to be a coiled uraeus with the nemes headdress is known to me only in this period. One example, the mask of Amenemope,[63] is firmly dated, but two

bronze," p. 11, plus evidence noted in the statue of Pedubaste TIP-9).

60 The Tanite masks and coffins seem to show this slightly wider upper lip in general.

61 Conceivably inlay material has differentially deteriorated or fallen away. The downslanting eyelines of the bronze are also seen in the gilded wooden mask of Amenemope, Montet, *Psousennès*, pl. 132.

62 Though see the chapter on the Late and Ptolemaic Periods where it occurs in a kneeling statuette of Necho (LPPt-5) and an aegis of Amasis (LPPt-16), and discussion there.

63 Stierlin, *Gold*, p. 171, depicts Amenemope's mask with a clockwise coiled uraeus. The coiled uraeus

other pieces with the feature fit very well the parameters of this period, cat. 182 and cat. 210, the latter discussed a bit further below. The small size of TIP-19 and the apparent differential between height of its knees and toes were prefigured by and tend to confirm features seen in TIP-10 discussed above. In the case of TIP-10, however, indications of reworking of the tang system which had been damaged or unsatisfactory and recast in antiquity - would have made it difficult to simply accept the intentionality of the pose without other evidence.

The small king TIP-19, and to some extent TIP-15, and some other anonymous kings generally similar but of even more equivocal date, suggest that there existed already in the Third Intermediate Period a stratum of small royal bronzes of very general appearance, and with TIP-10 offer not entirely decipherable clues about the arrangement of bronzes. These points will be discussed further below.

A few additional pieces should be mentioned for the points of interest they offer, although, like some other pieces referred to here and there as probably dating to the period and a confirming occurrence of a feature under discussion, I do not assign them TIP numbers and integrate them in the list of assigned pieces. Generally this is because I have not felt the pieces were priorities for study so as to argue a more specific dating.

A king's head in a nemes has been exhibited and published several times (cat. 210). It apparently formed the terminal of a staff. The features are highly asymmetrical, but attractive. The eyes with raised irises, the upper lip which is slightly thicker than the lower, the nemes type already noted several times with a rather high dome, pointed peaks, and relatively narrow wings, and the coiled uraeus discussed immediately above, tend to indicate a dating in the Third Intermediate Period. The metal composition is problematic: the metal analysis shows mainly copper, which is possible, but is oddly high in iron. While there are factors which could account for such a high iron content, it is quite unusual, and the piece requires additional study to be understood. I mention it here, however, as an interesting type of ritual equipment which I think is ancient.

Two kings wearing the white crown, cat. 263 and cat. 57, are certainly to be dated to Third Intermediate Period based on a range of features enumerated in the catalog entries – perhaps most notably the type of tripartite modeling discussed above as characteristic of the Third Intermediate Period – but which it is unnecessarily repetitive to review here. Both have white crowns similar to Pami's. In cat. 263, struts have been used to hold up the arms, a feature often seen in small, sometimes – but not always – cursorily made bronzes, some of which I have already shown above date to this period.[64] Cat. 57 is inscribed on the back of the belt for King Send,

appeared at least once in Old Kingdom relief and then fairly often in statuary of Dynasty 12 (see Evers, *Staat* II, p. 26 para. 168, and Fay, "Reused Bust," p. 52 and n. 9), and possibly also in relief. Seemingly it did not appear thereafter in the New Kingdom. Presumably the use on Third Intermediate Period bronzes is an instance of archaism, and perhaps more specifically an instance of archaism to a Middle Kingdom model: a block reused in the vestibule of the tomb of Psusennes depicts Amenemhat II with what appears to be a coiled uraeus on the nemes (Montet, *Psousennès*, pl. 15 and p. 35 – unfortunately the accuracy of the drawing cannot be verified; however, some verification may be found in what seems to be a coiled uraeus on a fragment of a relief block from Senwosret III's pyramid temple at Dahshur pointed out to me by Adela Oppenheim).

64 For employment of struts in a larger bronze certainly of the period, see New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 86.1.77, a seated goddess.

probably a revered Early Dynastic king; it has been dated to the early 26th dynasty when the cults of early kings certainly experienced revival, but I suspect the statuette belongs even a century earlier. This bronze provides an important parameter for the discussion of role. I want to bring the king into the discussion here because he thrusts his head and leans noticeably forward, and also raises his pots significantly above waist height (even if damage might have exaggerated the gesture). These features were seen already in Pami, well-dated to this period, and will be addressed further below in this chapter when subtleties of the pose are discussed.

Lastly, an excavated king that certainly dates to this period (cat. 187) should be mentioned. The king appears to be very fine, and has the tripartite modeling and raised pupils characteristic of the period. The excavation history is not very clear, but, as pointed out in the catalog entry, it is most likely to be from Nabasha.

Excluded pieces

Three pieces have passed as Third Intermediate Period kings (cat. 168, a king kneeling with one knee raised and bearing an offering table with the name Psusennes, and cat. 231 and 234, two seated kings referred to several times in Egyptological literature as probably representing Osorkon II), but present many problems and are not included here.

Summary chart of Third Intermediate Period bronze kings

For purposes of further discussion the royal bronzes are listed in the following chart with basic details and grouped according to periods.

Phase	Identification	Date by inscription	Provenance	Pose	Headdress	Size in cm
A	1. Menkhep-erre statue, cat. 8	x; 1045–992	presumably Thebes	striding	cap	19
A	2. Menkhep-erre sphinx, cat. 7	Menkheperre in cartouche		sphinx	nemes	7.8 (L)
A	3. Siamun sphinx, cat. 9	x; 978–959		sphinx	nemes	10.3 (L)
A	4. King, cat. 238			striding	khat	10.8
A	5. Smendes, cat. 206	generally to the period		kneeling	short wig	14.5
B	6. Osorkon I, cat. 10	x; 924–889	Schibin el-Qanatir	striding, offering *nw*	khat	14
B	A. Osorkon II gold triad	x; 874–850	Tanis	N/A	N/A	N/A
B	B. Karomama	x; 870–825	Karnak	N/A	N/A	N/A
B	C. Silver king			striding, offering *maat*	cap	16.5 w/o tenons
B	7. Usermaatre Sotepenimen (Osorkon II) cat. 11	x; pr. 874–850	said from Thebes	striding?	nemes	11
B	D. Gold Amun		said to be Thebes	N/A	N/A	N/A
C	8. Usermaatre Sotepenimen cat. 44	x, generally		kneeling	nemes	17.7
C	9. Pedubaste, cat. 12	x; 818–793		striding, probably offering	unknown	27
C	10. Osorkon Meriamun, cat. 237	x, generally		kneeling, hands open	unknown	11.5

Phase	Identification	Date by inscription	Provenance	Pose	Headdress	Size in cm
C	11. Pami, cat. 13	x; 773–767		kneeling, offering *nw*	white crown	26
C	12. Sheshonq V, cat. 14	x; 767–730		sphinx	nemes	3.2 (H)
C	13. Peftjau-bast, cat. 15	x; 749–728 or later		kneeling, hands open	cap	19.5
C	E. gold Harsaphes	x; as above	from Herakleopolis	N/A	N/A	N/A
C	14. cat. 34			kneeling, open hands restored	nemes	18
C	15. Pedise, cat. 16	x; ca. 740?		kneeling	blue crown	5.5
C	F. Takushit	x; ca. 730		N/A	N/A	N/A
C	16. Sheshonq of Busiris, cat. 18	x; ca. 670		unknown	unknown	40–50?
–	17. cat. 99		Saqqara	kneeling, offering *wedjat*	white crown	26
–	18. cat. 98		Saqqara	kneeling	nemes	20
–	19. cat. 301			kneeling, offering *nw*	nemes	8

PART II: COMMENTARY

Observations re Third Intermediate Period style and the style of the bronzes

The table on the preceding page summarizes the directly dated metal statuettes and the significant pieces whose datings have been stylistically established in the previous discussion.

Using the summary chart as a platform certain general observations about the style of the period can be made. First, the bronzes fit rather well the stylistic parameters that have been laid out for the period by Richard Fazzini. The shift between Phases A/B and C in terms of style is already noticeable in the inscriptionally dated material as remarked above. The shift is between an era (A/B) where reference to earlier Thutmoside and Ramesside style elements was a consistent feature, and an era (C) in which it may occur (the limestone statuette of Osorkon III, or TIP-10 Osorkon Meriamun), but so also do several other different kinds of faces that either show no very clear pattern of past reference or show a different set of archaizing references than during phases A/B. The serious/vulnerable faces of TIP-8 Usermaatre Sotepenimen of Baltimore and TIP-12 Sheshonq V are quite different from each other, but also different from the faces of Phases A and B. Likewise, the round sweet face of TIP-11 Pami has no very clear precursor, and neither do TIP-13 Peftjaubast or TIP-F Takushit with their large full faces whose nostrils and mouths are of equal width and separated by furrows from the cheeks. The "realistic" face of TIP-14 may demonstrate a Middle-Kingdom archaizing which becomes more marked in the Kushite Period. Moreover, there is a range of styles of torso modeling as discussed above, and a propensity to small heads on large bodies is noted in the case of TIP-10 and TIP-13.

It is perhaps relevant also to recall the glassy faience heads of kings and dynasts mentioned above, and to note that types of faces were seen there that were unrelated to the royal faces of Phases A/B and that at least one of them shows a round cheeked face with a small chin somewhat like Takushit (TIP-F), for example.[65] Whether or not they are chronologically apposite, given what we know of the political situation of the time it seems clear that both those glassy faience heads and the Phase C royal bronze statuary are drawing on a range of images from identifiable periods, but they are also apparently finding fresh sources or following more complex patterns than we can read.

Secondly, it is interesting to note that among the bronzes – bearing in mind the transportability of objects and the eminent transportability of metalwork – it certainly seems as though Thutmoside models are more popular than Ramesside in the south

[65] Berlandini, "Tête," plate I, private collection piece. She (pp. 21–22) would date this head to near Osorkon II based on similarities to shawabtis, although the Brooklyn headless statue of the same material and with an extremely similar inscriptions represents an individual who is to be identified with one or another 8th century Chief of the Ma. The comments of R.S. Bianchi in *Reflections on Ancient Glass from the Borowski Collection* (Mainz, 2002) p. 141 would need evaluation.

at least for Phase B, in some agreement with Fazzini's observation.[66] The following are all associated with the south and can be characterized as showing Thutmoside influence: Karomama (TIP-B); Usermaatre Sotepenimen, Paris (TIP-7); and the Gold Amun (TIP-D). The one piece that may show a strongly Ramesside model is the Menkheperre sphinx (TIP-2) (one would guess Theban because of his area of activity), while the Menkheperre statue (TIP-1) shows a more mixed image. In the north, there is insufficient evidence to judge the situation.

Other Observations

Developments in the bronze kneeling type

Two reasonably clear phases emerge in the popularity of the kneeling type. The first encompasses the Late New Kingdom[67] and chronological phases A/B, and is characterized by an absence of kneeling kings, except for the statue of Smendes who may be a high priest. Several mid-range size standing kings are preserved. The second phase is phase C which involves several kneeling kings of various sizes, one rather large striding king and traces of a second large striding pseudo-royal person.

This impression of a strong disjunction is probably not entirely correct, particularly since the kneeling type did seem to be well-established in the New Kingdom through Ramesses II. Moreover, it is important to remember that pieces of the non-archaizing styles from phase C are, in fact, some of the easiest to assign with confidence. Examples such as TIP-17 and -18 in the general assignments might well, for example, belong in phase A/B. Numerous others, some of which will be discussed below, cannot yet be assigned with any specificity. There are, of course, also standing bronze kings, which may belong to the Third Intermediate Period, but no more specific assignment can be ventured.[68]

Still, however, kneeling bronze kings seem to figure more heavily in Phase C. One possible explanation is that there is a new or revived emphasis on the kneeling type in connection with religious practices. It is not easy to explain how such a change in emphasis would have come about, but some possible contributing factors will be discussed further below. In any case, a new emphasis on kneeling kings in religious practice would anticipate the Kushite interest in bronze kneeling kings, which is probably, in fact, to be associated with their proud religiosity.

This may be an appropriate place to mention a variant of the kneeling pose that is seen at this time in Pami (TIP-11) and cat. 57. Here the figure leans and raises the offerings to almost shoulder height, suggesting a degree of urgency that is at odds with the usual hieroglyphic pose of bronze kneeling kings, though more urgent

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66 Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 115 and notes which make the full complexity of the situation evident.

67 The bronzes belonging to that earlier period are, to recapitulate:

Late New Kingdom (*Dynasty 20*)

N.K.6 torso of a presumably striding Ramesses V, h. 11 cm (ca. 1147–1143) (cat. 4)

N.K.7 bronze base from Megiddo which held a presumably bronze striding Ramesses VI, l. of base 27.4 cm, estimated original h. of statue 25 cm? (ca. 1142–1134) (cat. 5)

N.K.8 perhaps partly ancient (below knees?) striding statue on presumably ancient bronze base inscribed for Ramesses IX, h. 27.5 cm (cat. 6).

68 For example, cat. 227 and 233.

poses are known in other media as discussed in Appendix 1 on the kneeling pose. Conceivably this is connected with a reinterpretation of the offering statement at this time, discussed further in the chapter on role. On the other hand, it is also probably to be related to exploration of the rendering of movement in bronze statuary at this time, additional evidence for which is discussed below in connection with Pedubaste.

Secondly, the group of bronze kneeling kings from this period encompasses both the offering type and a type which is now first attested but becomes very important. This type simply holds its arms forward with palms inward. The purpose of this gesture will be discussed at length in the chapter on role, but for now it should be noted that the gesture probably does not simply represent an offering variant.

Thirdly, a range of smaller bronzes is represented by TIP-10, -15, and -19. The last two seem to represent a lower level of quality and a lower level of specificity of image.[69] The observation that such "generic" royal bronzes existed already at this time has implications for understanding the inception of a phenomenon usually identified with the Late Period, that is the multiplication of often small, often unimpressive bronze kneeling kings. These are very difficult to assign meaningfully to particular kings and often even to particular periods. Presumably, they did not seem strongly particularized to the ancient Egyptians either. For now, it is enough to note the inception of the phenomenon, which we will follow especially in the Late Period chapter, and discuss in the conclusions.

Among these smaller bronzes is seen a modification of the kneeling pose, mentioned earlier in connection with TIP-19 and presumably TIP-10. In these and other instances, whether of this period or others, orientation of the face and back, offerings, and even of the tangs, which one would expect to be perpendicular when properly oriented as in other kneeling bronzes, suggests the statuettes placed toes on one base and knees on a higher adjacent base. The significance of this pose will be discussed further in the chapter on the role of the kings.

Development in other Royal Bronze types

Only the offering pose is quite clearly attested among striding kings (TIP-6 and TIP-C). The torso fragment of Pedubaste (TIP-9), only very partially preserved, presents some difficulties in analysis. The piece is unusual as being one of only very few preserved large bronze statues of kings and the only one of this period. The roles of these few large statues are difficult to categorize. Pedubaste's statue is a very remarkable and highly wrought work; it conveys a strongly energetic motion with one leg far forward and virtually swinging in front of the other. The position probably represents a stylistic interest of the period rather than a different sort of statue. Some large bronzes of the period, whose poses are otherwise not out of the ordinary, convey in new and effective ways an impression of energy or movement: they may have a quite wide stride,[70] or, like Karomama, have feet placed nearly one

[69] Other candidates for a Third Intermediate Period date might be found among pieces with spade-like tangs similar to TIP-10. Some whose features can be reviewed and do not seem to directly contravene this indication can be cited: cat. 172; cat. 182 (already mentioned above as a probability for this period because he wears a nemes with *coiled* uraeus); cat. 122 (also with other relatively early features such as the particular shape of the nemes, and a frontlet without separation from the ear tabs).

[70] E.g. Bepshes and the associated bronze of a second non-royal man in the Louvre, E7692 and 7693,

in front of the other. Still, the need to consider a range of other possible types of striding/advancing king statues becomes further apparent in connection with some bronzes of the Kushite Period, and it is possible the Third Intermediate striding kings may have prefigured some of the potential statuary activities which will best be discussed in that chapter.

A bronze royal sphinx standard (cat. 194) possibly belonging to this period supports the suggestion that bronzes may have been used in connection with bark processions.

Material and Technology, Costume, Iconography and Inscriptions

In terms of technology certain bronzes show features (copper core supports, variable tenon systems for assembling elements, variable tang sizes and shapes) that indicate methods of production have not been standardized, a fact that connects these bronzes to the New Kingdom. The large bronze of Pedubaste, however, definitely shows traces of iron core supports and perhaps an iron armature. Others bronzes begin to employ more standardized features, such as the tee-shaped tangs of TIP-8 and TIP-18, that continue hereafter.

Some bronzes that could be closely examined in this regard show great sureness of technique, such as those cast around more than one core (TIP-9, TIP-10, probably TIP-8 and TIP-17).[71]

The often remarked predilection of the bronzes of the period for extensive inlay with other metals is most obvious in the case of TIP-6 and TIP-9, and the small sphinxes (TIP-2, -3); the unusual detailing on the tail of the khat of TIP-4 and the cartouche pendants worn by some of the kings (TIP-7, -10, -15) were also probably once inlaid, but this cannot be verified. In addition, the uraei of TIP-8 and TIP-18 were separately made and attached. At least TIP-6, TIP-4, TIP-16, and the sphinxes TIP-2 and TIP-3 are in fact or are good possibilities to be black bronzes. Pami (TIP-11) has a striking light glow that might be intentional and is attributable to his alloy unusually high in lead.[72] Traces of more generalized gilding were observed on the kilts of TIP-8, TIP-9, TIP-10, and TIP-17 and were noted on the belt of TIP-7.

Though other royal bronzes of the period show rather more variation, the costume of the small kneeling kings is the traditional shendyt. Body surface is treated austerely relative to some other bronzes of the period, ornament usually being confined to a cartouche pendant or name (TIP-10, -11, -15), broad collars (TIP-11, -8, -15) and in one case a very unusual necklace (TIP-13), or simple bracelets (TIP-13). Outside this period, cartouches on the body are otherwise seen only on Ramesses II (NK-5) in the New Kingdom; they do not appear on the bodies of bronze kings in the Kushite Period or later. The presence of necklaces and bracelets is less distinctive; they did

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see Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," p. 92.

[71] This method may well exist in numerous other cases, but is not easily ascertainable in the case of an intact statue without x-ray examination.

[72] This observation was triggered by a Edna Russmann's calling my attention to the formerly inlaid emblem on the chest of BM EA22784/71459, and questioning whether the unusual alloy of the figure (high in lead, and with a measurable percentage of arsenic also, see Taylor, "Hollow-cast bronze," pp. 12–13, in fact quite similar to Pami's composition) might have contributed to a coloristic juxtaposition no longer perceptible. Lead concentrations are understood for their effect on manufacture, but not much attention has been given to their effect on color.

not appear among New Kingdom kneeling bronze kings, but do continue to appear sporadically hereafter on bronzes. Belts show a number of types, including the zigzag pattern, the pattern of vertical and horizontal groups of lines, a pattern of vertical lines and spaces, and a pattern of lozenge shaped elements. Belts of the last pattern worn without the associated apron are not known to me before or after this period. Belts tend to be of even width all the way around, but the belt of TIP-10 follows the New Kingdom tendency to narrow where it curves in front beneath the abdomen.

In the New Kingdom, only the nemes and khat were worn by these small kneeling bronzes. In the Third Intermediate Period examples of the nemes (3: TIP-14, -18, -19, plus other examples only discussed), white crown (2, possibly 3:[73] TIP-11, -17, possibly -10, plus other examples), and cap (1 or possibly 2: TIP-13, possibly -10), and one strange squashed blue crown or flat cap (TIP-15)[74] are attested. Other types of royal bronzes from the period show examples of the nemes (leaving aside sphinxes, TIP-7), khat (TIP-4, -6), and cap crown (TIP-1; also TIP-C, silver).

Uraei are generally more or less standard for the Ramesside Period and onward, with single loops symmetrically disposed on either side of the cobra body. However, just as earlier uraei provided models for the stone statues of Osorkon II and III, coiled uraei on the nemes were reintroduced for bronzes from probably Middle Kingdom statuary or relief, and uraei with asymmetric loops are known which recall mid-18th dynasty examples though some may mean to evoke uraei from the early Middle Kingdom.[75]

Names are frequently present on the kneeling kings; they are found most often on the belt buckle, but additionally on the chest whether in a cartouche pendant or directly on the chest, on the shoulders, and in one unusual case on the back of the belt (cat. 57). Names of others may have been inscribed on now-missing bases. Other types of royal bronzes tend likewise to be inscribed on the body.

Leaving aside the kneeling bronzes which hold nothing, a number of offering variations are possible:[76] kneeling kings offer *nw* pots (TIP-11, TIP-19, and other examples) or the *wedjat* (TIP-17); they can presumably offer *maat* as was possible with Ramesses II in the New Kingdom (NK-5) and as was the case with the silver statuette I have attributed to this period (TIP-C).

[73] Osorkon Meriamun, TIP-10, is missing his headdress. He probably wore a cap crown or an upright crown: the presence of the ears rules out the echelonned wig in standard form, and both the conformation of the high back edge of the head and the lack of any markings or fixing spots for the dependent elements of the nemes or khat make those headdresses very unlikely. Of the upright crowns the red crown is possible, but rare; the blue crown is so far unknown on any bronze except Pedise (TIP-15), if that is what he wears, and is actually not very popular among the Libyan pharaohs. It is hard to understand the point of the two small lines engraved on the back of his neck: the chain of his cartouche pendant is drawn only on the front of his body, and neither of these two small lines aligns with the trajectory of the chain in any case. Possibly the lines relate to fixing a crown, but it is difficult to see how.

[74] This piece is cited in Leahy, "Royal Iconography," note 24 as one of a few examples of the blue crown in the round from this period. In fact, both of the two other examples cited (cat. 126 and 212) are not good candidates for a Third Intermediate Period date; the second is discussed in the chapter on Saite bronzes.

[75] Psusennes gold and silver masks, Karomama, and Sotheby's, New York, sale catalog December 7, 2001, lot. 28 (too late to be integrated into this study) are examples.

[76] There is insufficient evidence to even investigate the possibility of a correspondence between particular crowns and offerings.

"Childlike features"
One other iconographic/stylistic point should be mentioned. I have characterized the faces of TIP-8 and TIP-12 as affectless or vulnerable. They could also be characterized as showing a childlike seriousness.[77] Of course, features that are stylistic choices may have iconographic import. Childlike metal statuary of kings probably from staves was pointed out already in the late 18th Dynasty. However, in the standard New Kingdom offering and cult associated statue, whether stone or bronze, kings were generally shown as mature monarchs. These two Third Intermediate Period examples which may intentionally lay emphasis upon childish features show the king in his full regalia and basic postures associated with the divine cult.

There are in subsequent periods a few examples of kneeling bronzes that might be categorized as depicting the king in a childlike way. On the basis of sporadic examples it is hard to argue that there is any real programmatic intention, and, of course, it could be maintained that the youthful-seeming appearance represents the age of particular kings or the age at the time the statue was created, which, alien as such an intent seems to be to the usual motives of Egyptian statuary, is difficult to contradict at least in the abstract. On the other hand, it seems possible a kind of leitmotif is operative, that a shift of emphasis in the interpretation of the king's direct relationship to the gods is finding occasional material expression. In fact, there are certain kinds of evidence that indicate there is a new emphasis on aspects of the royal mythology envisioning the king as the offspring of a god and a vulnerable/remarkable child.[78]

General Remarks

Though the degree of contrast perceived with the New Kingdom may be exaggerated,[79] bronze statuary does flourish during the Third Intermediate Period. This cannot be attributed to any single cause, and understanding will only begin to grow as our total picture of the period continues to be refined through the efforts of many scholars.

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[77] If childlike elements of the overall depiction are included, the Louvre king (TIP-C) might be considered a related example from this period or, if the dating proposed here is accepted. Moreover, it may be relevant to note that the significance of the cap crown, generally very popular in the Third Intermediate Period, is sometimes suggested to have something to do with the role of the king as a divine child (conveniently, Fazzini, "Several Objects," pp. 121–2 and notes 77–81).

[78] The meanings of the offering pose are discussed in the chapter on role. For a discussion of interesting recastings of the traditional royal protocol at this time see Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, pp. 248–253. In brief, the foreign Libyan kings manipulated titulary describing the king as the child of a god to legitimize and naturalize themselves. Though the particular manipulations are interesting, they need not in themselves imply an actual child-like image. However, Sheshonq I and Osorkon II seem to have sought to link themselves with the myth of Horus-Son-of-Isis emerging from the marsh of Chemmis to wear the pschent, a linkage executed more explicitly not too much later by Taharqa and quite strongly calling to mind the image of the king as an immature child. As a second piece of evidence of the emergence of a link between the ideas of the king as physically a child and child of god, the development toward the mammisi may be cited. There the birth of a god-child, one identified with the king, from divine parents is celebrated, see Arnold, *Last Pharaohs*, pp. 185–189; after precursors from the period of Ramesses II, the Temple of Mihos at Bubastis built by Osorkon I seems first to express the basic concepts of the mammisi, followed by a fairly continuous development of the type.

[79] See General Remarks at the end of the New Kingdom chapter.

At least at this point, I think it may be a mistake to ask as some have done why bronze was overtaking stone statuary and then to look for explanations simply in availability and dearth of materials.[80] First, the stone corpus has not been carefully evaluated, and there may well be more stone royal[81] and are certainly more stone private statues in this period than one routinely recognizes.

Secondly, the period's complex overlay of political structure on cult structure, where precious metal and bronze statuary had their most distinctive and coherent use, may well have had an influence on the types and materials favored in the statuary corpus of the time. The intricacies are infinitely explorable, but one suggestion would be that a particular emphasis on significant cultic roles of kings and also of very high officials in the temple may have led to an increased use of bronze. Behind this again may lie particular features of the society at this period: the fact that the Libyan kings were foreigners may have led to focus on and enhancement of traditional cult. The particular structure of Libyan society, of course, may have had an effect on the ramification one seems to see within the cult, and to a proliferation of those entitled to or desirous of bronze statuary.[82]

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80 Leahy, "Bronzeworking," p. 301: "In the period after the New Kingdom, there is a clear change in the respective frequency of bronze and stone statuary in the royal repertoire, and the former becomes as common as the latter. This apparent preference for bronze may reflect difficulty in obtaining suitable stone (Edwards, Cambridge Ancient History III/1 (1982) p. 578) since reuse of blocks from earlier buildings and the usurpation of statues were common, but the shortage may also have created a vogue. Bronze statuary was more in keeping with the reduced ambitions of kings at the time, and provided a means of continuing the sculptural tradition with relative ease and speed." Though the article as a whole is useful and constructive, and although the same author's work (see below) is important in understanding the character of the Libyan Period, the whole consideration here is not grounded in technological knowledge or in a thoughtful evaluation of the statuary corpus.

81 The head illustrated in Fazzini, "Several Objects," figure 3 and discussed p. 118 ff. is a candidate; see also the stone and wooden heads in cap crown discussed on p. 120.

82 See O'Connor, "Tjemhu," pp. 29–113, especially pages 89 and following for some perspective on the structure of Libyan society and the idea of its coalescing as a nomadic state at the time of its interactions with Egypt; Leahy, "Libyan Period" is important in trying to understanding the particular character of the period and its interaction with and effect on traditional Egyptian culture.

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THE KUSHITE PERIOD

Because of the specific Kushite regalia and style, analyzed in detail in the essential study by Edna Russmann, a great number of royal bronzes can be recognized as belonging to the period of Dynasty 25 in Egypt or Nubia or to the successor Napatan Kingdom in Nubia.[1] The ease with which bronzes of the general type can be identified may skew the picture of bronze development in certain respects, so the unusually clear definition of the Kushite corpus needs to be taken into account in any comparisons to other periods. At the same time, its very richness and density provide an unusually full picture of many aspects of royal bronzes during Dynasty 25 so that it becomes very significant for any surmises regarding the role of bronzes in general.

The outlines of the corpus have changed somewhat since Russmann's work: new bronzes have come to light, and new information modifies the status of others. Review of the enlarged corpus is necessary to investigate possible additional assignments to particular kings, and to explore stylistic differences and their meaning. For example, it is important to evaluate whether bronzes of Dynasty 25 made for Egyptian display can be distinguished from those made for Nubian display, and how examples in Nubia from Dynasty 25 and those from the succeeding periods can be differentiated.[2] This is desirable both for a study of general and regional styles, and also so that later discussions about the style and roles of these small royal bronzes can to the extent possible be grounded in culturally consistent and synchronic groups.

Introduction

Chronological parameters

For purposes of the discussion, a brief framework of the significant chronological points can be laid out.[3] A ruling dynasty arose among the princedoms of Napata

[1] Russmann, *Representation*, in particular Appendix II "Royal Representations in Metal," pp. 57–72; also "Aspects."

[2] Given that the royal image and iconography of the kings of Dynasty 25 is continuous with that of Napatan kings following the fall of Dynasty 25, it is equally probable that the popular genres of their statuary were likewise retained and maintained. Without formalizing her criteria or observations, Russmann has already pointed to a number of possible examples for each category; see her comments on her cat. 24, p. 64, and cats. 34 and 36, pp. 67–69 and note 8 on pp.32–3 (my cats. 149, 35, and 64). Also see her remarks on p. 16 and n. 3 and on page 20 regarding the tendency to call any obviously Kushite figure a representation of Taharqo, though "some, especially those excavated at Kawa, could very well be later than the Twenty-fifth Dynasty proper."

[3] Again, I have basically followed Kitchen's dates, see *TIP* table 4 revised p. 589 and also his subsequent comments in introductory paragraphs II through KK. Kendall, "Kings," pp. 161–171 gives a historical summary including a prologue to the Kushite dynasty extending back to the Egyptian New Kingdom. For the reigns of Shabaqo and Shebitqo, issues of exact historical dates, possible coregency, and a

under Alara and by around 760 extended its rule to Lower Nubia. Around 750 Kashta extended some form of overlordship over Upper Egypt. Then Pi(ankh)y, who ruled from about 747 to 713, enforced control first over Thebes by bringing about the adoption of his sister Amenirdis I as God's Wife of Amun by Shepenwepet I, senior God's Wife and daughter of Osorkon III, and over all of Egypt through an invasion about 730. As an interesting point of fact related to the religious background of the bronzes under study, Pi(ankh)y was intentionally present at the celebration of the great Opet Festival in Thebes.[4] Pi(ankh)y did not stay in Egypt, and shortly after his accession Shabaqo (713–698) had again to reassert control of Egypt. He established continuing Kushite rule there, building and leaving statues. With Shabaqo Dynasty 25 in Egypt is considered to begin. At some point his sister Shepenwepet II was adopted as God's Wife by Amenirdis I. Shabaqo was succeeded by Shebitqo (698 single rule, and as early as 707 if coregency is accepted, until 690) and then Taharqo (690–664). The latter built very extensively in Egypt and Nubia. His daughter Amenirdis II in about 670 became the designated successor to Shepenwepet II. Already from 671 the Kushite dynasty was struggling with repeated Assyrian invasions, and when Tanutamani (664–656) succeeded Taharqo, he had nominal control of Egypt for only one year before being driven back to Napata by the final Assyrian invasion.

That same year the Saite Dynasty was established in rule by the Assyrians in the North. Thebes, however, continued to date by the absent Tanutamani until 656, when the installation of Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, as successor to the God's Wife of Amun Amenirdis II in Thebes marked effective assumption of control by Psamtik I in the south.[5]

In Egypt the names of the Kushite kings seem to have been respected on monuments and presumably elsewhere until at least year 20 of Psamtik I, and probably through the reign of Necho until year 3 of Psamtik II. The last invaded Nubia, and, while leaving little trace there, was almost certainly the king who mounted a campaign in Egypt itself to erase the names and sometimes deface the images of the Nubian kings in Egypt.[6]

In Nubia following the withdrawal from Egypt and through the 7th century a number of Nubian kings are known through monuments and stone statues, particularly a significant series at Gebel Barkal: Atlanersa (653–643), Senkamanisken (643–623), Anlamani (623–593) and Aspelta (593–568). The last would presum-

possible division of territory are discussed in the light of a new Assyrian inscription at Tang-i Var by Dallibor, "Schebitqo," and von Beckerath, "Zur XXV. Dynastie." I have here followed Dallibor's dates. It is possible that changes in these parameters might have effects on our expectations for the identities of the royal bronzes of the period, but speculation seems pointless given so very few bronzes are identified at all for these early Kushite kings. A useful general overview, though it predates much new evaluation and scholarship, for the Napatan kingdom until the shift to Meroe is given by Adams, *Corridor*, pp. 246–293 with a helpful kinglist on pp. 251–2. While not directly relevant to this study as organized, recent scholarly studies and new excavations give a picture of greater population, indigenous activity, and continuity in Nubia (which is necessarily differentiated into several component parts in detailed studies) than heretofore thought. The period immediately preceding the Kushite Dynasty remains rather mysterious, but for an interesting contextualization and suggestive thoughts, see O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia*, especially pages 66–69 with background bibliography.

[4] See Grimal, *Pi(ʿankh)y*, p. 51 para. 12 ll. 1–2.

[5] Kitchen, *TIP*, para. 359 on p. 399.

[6] See Spalinger, "Psammetichus II," coll. 1169–1172. For the basic discussion of erasures and more infrequent usurpation of Kushite monuments see Yoyotte, "Martelage."

ably have been the king against whom Psamtik II (595–589) campaigned. Though poorly documented thereafter the Napatan dynasty maintained its presence – at least officially – in Napata until about 250 B.C.; thereafter it shifted residence entirely to the southern capital at Meroe, though the northern temples retained a religious role into the first or second century A.D.

The style of inscriptionally dated Kushite representations in stone and bronze

The Kushites encountered Third Intermediate Period Egypt in a significant way beginning in the mid-8th century. The invasion of Pi(ankh)y who himself visited Thebes, conquered many of the towns of upper and middle Egypt, and worshipped at Heliopolis, marks an early intensification of interaction even predating the sustained Kushite presence introduced by Shabaqo.

The Kushite royal image can in some ways be related to developments during the Third Intermediate Period.[7] For example, both periods shared an interest in realism in facial features, which in the Third Intermediate Period meant venturing away from typically idealized New Kingdom facial images to other kinds of models including forceful Old and Middle Kingdom models. In the Kushite period, however, a unified "realistic" royal image was projected, quite possibly influenced by similar tendencies but also chosen as an expression of the Kushites' own ethnicity and perhaps their own felt forcefulness. Kushite features are indicated distinctively. The heads themselves tend to be quite round on thick necks, the faces are round, with full cheeks and heavy underchins, noses can be wide, lips tend to smile at least slightly, lower faces in general are protruding, and strong furrows appear next to the nose. Their art was also marked by a unified archaistic interest in the forms of the Old Kingdom, which in terms of the style of the statuary discussed here was most understandably expressed in the modeling of the torsos.

It is not easy to specify whether related elements of style in late Third Intermediate Period statuary, like the bronze of Peftjaubast (TIP-13, cat. 15), and relief such as for example the plaque of Iuput II, or, alternatively, 25th and early 26th dynasty private statuary in Thebes, can be traced to the influence of Kushite style or should be ascribed to other contemporary currents.[8]

The already mentioned study by Edna Russmann is the primary stylistic and iconographic study of Kushite images and constitutes a background to the following discussion.[9] With few definitely attributable monuments within a very restricted chronological span, the points she makes are subtle ones regarding distinctions among individual kings; overall she suggests that the somewhat ingratiating images of Taharqo seem to indicate a certain distancing from the early forceful image of Shabaqo.[10]

Based on the small bronze in Athens inscribed with his name (K-1; plate 29) she describes *Shabaqo*'s blunt and vigorous image as follows: "round and full through

[7] Relevant discussion is found in: Fazzini, "Several Objects," pp. 122–125; Russmann, *Representation*, pp. 22–24; Russmann, "Royal Statuette."

[8] See, for example, Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 124.

[9] A number of royal sculptural representations have been assigned to Dynasty 25 on good grounds since Russmann's study was published, although specific identifications are not usually strongly maintained; a listing of several new pieces is given by Fazzini, "Recumbent Sphinx," p. 42 n. 6.

[10] Russmann, "Royal Statuette," p. 154 and n. 39.

the cheeks, but there is less impression of fleshiness than one often gets in Kushite representations. The eyes ... are of medium size ... . The nose is straight, rounded at the tip and broad at the nostrils. The mouth is set horizontally, quite prominent in profile, and there are small ridges of flesh at the corners. The chin is short and broad. The effect of the profile is quite blunt, with the lips protruding almost as far as the nose, and the chin firm, though small and sloping considerably to the neck."[11] The strong furrow running from the nostril on to the cheek (termed the "Kushite fold") may be more or less pronounced in Kushite images; in this and other images of Shabaqo it tends to be only lightly indicated.[12] These features are traceable in a few other images that do or may date to Shabaqo, and they are also a prototype for the Kushite image in general. A small number of stone statuettes can be attributed to Shabaqo on inscriptional grounds. These tend to show his face as very round with a rather marked smile, his neck as very thick, and the Kushite features as rather subdued.[13]

Shebitqo is poorly represented by named images. Based on the most individual, which is actually a relief image, he has an overly high head and very long neck, with the Kushite fold indicated distinctively as an s-shaped curve running from nose to mouth. A sculpted head in Cairo, provenance unknown, shares this last feature and is assigned to him with probability; this head also shows a distinctive decorative detailing in the drawing of the cosmetic lines. Based on a very few named images, Shebitqo's image can be described as fairly idealized and displaying some mannered detailing.[14]

A good number of representations are preserved of *Taharqo*. Those probably from Egypt itself are sometimes similar to those of Shabaqo, but often they are somewhat less forbidding: features that were large in Shabaqo are drawn smaller in Taharqo, and the whole countenance is rendered as more elegant than bold. Taking the Cairo black head, probably from Thebes, as an example, the nose is small, the Kushite fold is subtly rendered as a ridge, the mouth is small and slightly curving, and the small chin slopes a little to the neck; the profile is less blunt.[15] The small bronze in the Louvre (K-4; plate 33) shows something very similar, with the smile even more exaggerated.

Taharqo's images in Nubia follow two models, the first quite Egyptian and idealizing in style and attested by the large statue of Taharqo at Gebel Barkal.[16] Another model altogether is known from Kawa, represented by the maned sphinxes

11 Russmann, *Representation*, pp. 12–15 , quoted from p. 13.

12 The term "Kushite fold" is, so far as I know, first employed and discussed by Russmann in "Two Royal Heads," p. 89, though the fold is observed and called such by Bothmer, *ESLP*, p. 1; in Russmann, *Representation*, it is discussed on p. 11 and frequently thereafter.

13 Russmann, "Two Royal Heads," particularly pp. 97–98.

14 Russmann, *Representation*, pp. 15–16, with reference to the named relief from Karnak (her pl. 6) and Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1291 attributed to Shebitqo (her pl. 7).

15 Russmann, *Representation*, pp. 16–22, pp. 16–17 regarding the black head from Karnak, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG560.

16 Dunham, *Barkal*, pls. 6–7. The Taharqo statue has been much discussed. Assessments of the work differ: Russmann (*Representation*, p. 17) feels it shows "a considerable diminution both in skill and vigor" compared to the Cairo head of Taharqo, while Stephen Wenig feels it is simply based on more formalistic principles, and characterizes it as a Napatan reflection of a characteristic Kushite style (Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II, pp. 51–3).

with thick features, but perhaps also represented in finer form by a small bronze (K-9; plate 38) with a largish round head, large eyes, wide nose, marked Kushite fold, and wide slightly smiling mouth. Some of the stylistic complexities noted at this time and hereafter in Nubia are surely attributable to the presence and influence of Memphite artists brought there by Taharqo.[17]

Two very fine statues from Gebel Barkal but without preserved heads and only a small unpublished chapel at south Karnak were noted as the only known representations of *Tanutamani*.[18] One of the statues, the Toledo torso, shows extremely fine modeling. Contrasted with the torso of Taharqo from the same site, it seems to have narrower shoulders, to be fleshier through the breast and belly, and to show a median line which is actually a fairly deep cleavage between fleshy areas.[19]

Following the end of Dynasty 25, the sculptural tradition established during that dynasty continued in Nubia. Dated sculpture is confined to the major inscribed stone statues known from temples, essentially Gebel Barkal. In general, it can be said that the post-Dynasty 25 statuary shows some variability in proportions, with some examples showing proportionately larger heads relatively flatter in back, rounder shoulders, and shorter torsos, and a number of examples showing very exaggerated and schematic modeling of forearm and leg structure, particularly the kneecap with tendons and muscles around it and the calf, and sometimes slightly clumsy torso modeling.[20] However, the three statues of Senkamanisken (643–623), for example, show varying sets of traits, and likewise the two statues of Aspelta (593–568), and no extreme gradient can be noted between the earlier king and the later. Clearly the question of the style of post Dynasty 25 Napatan statuary is a complex one, and many questions including the role of external influence versus internal development would need to be treated. Larger heads and exaggerated leg modeling appear frequently and may represent local stylistic tendencies.

After the first half of the Napatan Period it is difficult to trace a continuous statuary tradition in Nubia: pieces do sporadically appear, but have no strong stylistic affinity to the earlier pieces, nor to any of the bronzes that will be discussed.[21]

Then with the Meroitic Period, a different style appears that can be represented here by a strikingly large and very handsome and technically complex bronze statue

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[17] Macadam, *Kawa* I, p. 16, Inscr. IV (Taharqo Year 6 Stela) ll. 20–22, translates that the king in Memphis sent his army “with numerous gangs and good craftsmen, innumerable, an architect being there with them to direct the work” at Temple T. That actual Memphite craftsmen are to be understood is indicated by the scenes in the first court of the temple copied directly from the mortuary chapel scenes of Sahure and Pepi II, per note 51. These scenes were subsequently published in Macadam, *Kawa* II, p. 62 and ff. and plates 9a/b and 49; also see page 107 regarding correspondences to Old Kingdom architecture. Russmann, *Relief Decoration Harwa*, pp. 227–229, discusses probable artistic evidence for the movement of such corps of Memphite artists through Egypt itself – Thebes in particular – on their way to Kawa.

[18] Russmann, *Representation*, p. 22; but in the earlier “Two Royal Heads,” pp. 101–108 she had mentioned other possibilities.

[19] Dunham, *Barkal*, plates 8–10 for the two statues. Russmann, *Representation*, p. 22 notes that, although unfortunately headless, the Toledo statue “is of a quality as fine as anything produced in this dynasty.”

[20] Large heads, Dunham, *Barkal*, Senkamanisken pl. 12, Anlamani pl. 20; shorter torso and rounder shoulders, Senkamanisken, pl. 12, thicker torso, Anlamani pl. 20; very schematic leg modeling, Senkamanisken, pl. 13, Anlamani, pl. 19 and 20, Aspelta, pls. 21–22; clumsy torso modeling, Anlamani, pl. 20.

[21] E.g. p. 55 figure 30 in Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II, a king of the fifth to fourth century B.C.; or the statue of of Akhratan (353–340 B.C.), Dunham, *Barkal*, pl. 23.

of a king from Tabo (K-26), dated to about 200 B.C. Though buried later, the piece exemplifies a general Meroitic facial style that can be said to dominate from the third century through at least the first century B.C.:[22] a round head with a rather small face having largish wideset eyes and small prettily rounded mouth above pointed chin, set on a thick neck. In this particular case, the figure also has extremely broad and full shoulders, upper arm and chest, the last tapering sharply into narrow hips and lower body.

Dating royal bronzes

General considerations

The corpus of Kushite bronze kings

Russmann's appendix II "Royal Representations in Metal" lists a total of thirty-eight Kushite bronzes: four statuettes identified by inscription, twenty-nine unidentified, and five uncertain examples.[23] The current catalogue, omitting two of Russmann's uncertain examples completely and only discussing without enumerating two others,[24] includes forty-eight items: six bronze statuettes identified by inscription (one of which was included originally in Russmann's unidentified group, but subsequent cleaning has allowed the cartouche to be read), forty-one unidentified bronzes, and one uncertain. This makes a total of fourteen newly appeared or recognized bronzes and one new identifying inscription on a previously known bronze.[25]

The previously known bronze with a newly recognized inscription is one of Taharqo from Kawa (K-9).

In addition, one of the newly catalogued bronzes has traces of the erased name of Taharqo on its belt (K-7).One of the newly appeared bronzes (K-13) must, in fact, be a bronze which was seen by H. W. Müller in Athens and mentioned briefly, and for many years after was a source of speculation by Egyptologists who identified it with various other bronzes known one way or another from visitors to or in publications out of Athens.[26] The bronze is, in fact, the largest kneeling example known to me,

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[22] The statue is dated to 200 for a number of reasons including parallels from the reliefs at Musawwarat es-Sufra that are a clear early manifestation of the style (see the references under the catalog entry). The style certainly continued into the early first century A.D. (see no. 273 on p. 246 of Wildung, *Sudan*); however, I will not try to analyze it more specifically here. For Musawwarat es-Sufra, see Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II, p. 71 fig. 45.

[23] A concordance of Russmann catalogue numbers and my series numbers is found in the table below.

[24] Russmann IIC37 (my cat. 130) can be assigned to a considerably later period (see my next chapter LPPt-34), as Russmann noted (*Representation*, p. 69 and p. 32 n. 7 and p. 33 n. 2; the reference to notes 167 and 170 is in error). Her number IIC38 has no characteristic markers, and she has only listed it according to previous suggestions which she, in fact, dismisses.

[25] The newly appeared bronzes are K-6–8, K-12–13, K-15–16, K-20, K-26, K-34, K-38, K-42, K-45, K-46. I am grateful to Edna Russmann for sharing information she had already gathered about some new Kushite bronzes.

[26] De Meulenaere, "Review of *Portraiture*," col. 123 no. 5 under Psamtik I, summarizes the identification problem as it stood up to then. Müller's precise remark was: "eine Bronzefigur eines kienden [sic] Königs Psammetich, dessen Kopfbedeckung verloren ist, im Nationalmuseum zu Athen.... Die Athener Statuette tragt den Namen Psammetich im Königsring auf der Gurtelschnalle." ("Ein Konigsbildnis der 26. Dynastie mit der 'Blauen Krone' im Museo Civico zu Bologna," *ZÄS* 80 (1955) p. 62 n. 3).

and quite unusual. It poses many problems, chief among them what seems to be the virtually complete removal of regalia – including even a *single* uraeus – and the inscription (apparently not reinscription since no traces of erasure are apparent) with the Saite royal name Psamtik. The last is a phenomenon otherwise unknown among these bronzes that seem to have remained anonymous if their original names were removed.[27] This piece will be dealt with stylistically below in an attempt to understand its original placement better.

Historical considerations

The fact that there are no known large stone images of Alara, Kashta, or Pi(ankh)y is not particularly surprising, since it is quite conceivable that this art form might only have been pursued with Shabaqo's taking up residence in Egypt. However, though I cannot suggest any particular piece as a candidate, it is not impossible that the early Kushite kings would have commissioned small bronzes either in Egypt or Nubia, following the practice of contemporary Third Intermediate Period kings and their own interest, particularly Pi(ankh)y's, in Egyptian cult practices.[28]

As to the kings who ruled in Egypt, while Taharqo ruled for a long period and built extensively and so may be theoretically granted the greatest number of representations, small representations may have existed of all of them, and may exist unidentified in the corpus. Surely during Shebitqo's considerable reign bronzes representing him might have been made. Likewise, the Thebans continued to date by the Kushite kings after they had been driven from Egypt. Tanutamani could well have been represented in Thebes, and surely in Nubia, by such small statuary. Indeed, the Saite oracle papyrus from year 14 of Psamtik I shows a kneeling *Kushite* king, identifiable by his Kushite cap, the encircling "bandeau" with long streamers, and very prominent crowned uraeus, holding a baldachin pole of Amun's portable shrine which bears the name of Taharqo; the statuette must go back at least to the reign of Tanutamani and by its presence alludes to Kushite rulers, whomever it may have originally been made to represent.[29]

Finally, the Kushite dynasty transmuted in Nubia into the seventh century Napatan kingdom, whose kings maintained many of the traditions of their great conquering ancestors, certainly including bronze ritual statuary, and passed them on to later centuries also.

However, despite the considerable range of possible kings represented, because of problems of evidence and because of the Kushite emphasis on a dynastic and even ethnic image within its short span in Egypt, resemblances and differences are not easy to confidently assert. This is a fact Russmann herself acknowledged by only venturing to specifically assign a very few unnamed bronzes, and which ought to be acknowledged likewise in a study of small bronzes, some known only from inadequate photographs.

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[27] Though virtually unknown among bronze statuettes, a few cases of reinscribed architectural elements are known, see Yoyotte, "Martelage," pp. 315–7, particularly items c on p. 235 and d on page 236, pieces of temple equipment from Memphis.

[28] A bronze ba-bird which probably stood atop the tomb of Kashta or his wife (Wildung, *Sudan*, no. 200, p. 193; the leg from this bronze statue measures 25.5 cm) testifies to the considerable level of bronze-working skill available to Nubian kings during the mid-8th century.

[29] Pl. 11 in Parker, *Oracle*.

Still, similarities suggest groupings among some of the bronzes that will be laid out below.

Provenance

Because of the particular history and geographical patterns of Kushite rule and of post-Kushite revisionism, reasoned deductions about provenance of some pieces can be made and used to establish a general dating range for some bronzes.[30]

In theory, Kushite bronzes used in Egypt should be assumed to have been made to represent those Nubian rulers of Egypt before 656, the date of assumption of authority by Psamtik I over Thebes. Bronzes from Nubia could, theoretically at least, reasonably extend over some 400 additional years, if the general shift to Meroe is taken as a terminus, or longer into the early centuries A.D. if the duration of the Meroitic kingdom is taken as a rough guide.

Despite the absence of much excavated information, there is strong secondary evidence that many of the bronzes in question here were used anciently in Egypt itself, and thus made during Dynasty 25. That evidence is the defacement of their distinctive regalia, in the case of the uraeus frequently involving the conversion of a double uraeus to a single, often coordinated with erasure of names. This occurs to a surprising degree among the bronzes. It makes sense to coordinate it with a more general defacement phenomenon in Egypt and *not* in Nubia that seems to postdate early Dynasty 26, and of which Psamtik II was the likely perpetrator.[31] But for the purposes of the argument here, it is sufficient that widespread selective mutilation testifies to the circumstance of defacement where the regalia still had distinctive significance, that is, in Egypt, and thus implies that the bronzes are restricted to representations of the Dynasty 25 kings in Egypt. In fact, the conversion of the single to the double uraeus in particular points to the interesting possibility noted by Russmann that many of the pieces in question may have been programmatically altered to allow their continued display in Egyptian temples after the end of Dynasty 25.[32]

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[30] The differences in provenance are also potentially interesting for a number of other reasons, but those questions will be taken up later.

[31] Yoyotte, "Martelage," 215–239. Yoyotte shows that the phenomenon of general erasure of Kushite royal names is restricted to Egyptian territory (p. 231), that it is certainly posterior to year 20 of Psamtik I (pp. 233–5), and that, given that in a number of places the erased Kushite names are supercharged with the name of Psamtik II (pp. 235–7) rather than with the names of either of his predecessors in Dynasty 26, it is likely the erasures took place during the reign of that king and probably in conjunction with his claimed military campaign against Nubia (pp. 238–9). While it is farfetched, it is theoretically possible that Psamtik might have gone to Nubia, found transportable bronzes there, and altered them in order to use them in Egyptian temples, but (a) there is no good evidence of his presence in Nubian temples such as defacements there, and (b) as will be shown further below, the differences in the appearance of the "Egyptian" bronzes and at least the one clearly contemporary bronze of Taharqo excavated in Nubia do tend to suggest actually at least these two different places of manufacture.

[32] The interpretation of the defacements to bronzes as indicating their display in Egyptian temples was first put forward by Russmann, *Representation*, p. 20. Besides the evidence of modifications of regalia, there is clear evidence in the vignette of the Saite Oracle papyrus which depicts the shrine of Amun-Re in procession that small Kushite statuary, possibly bronze statuary, remained on display in Thebes in the 14th year of Psamtik I, pl. 11 Parker, *Oracle*. It has been suggested to me that the loss of lower arms and hands may be an indicator of a more damning mutilation. It is true that missing hands and/or lower arms are rather frequently found among Kushite bronzes with alterations, but I suspect the occurrence is fortuitous since, in fact, the same feature is also found among Kushite bronzes from Nubia (K-30,

Without pursuing at this point the question of where actually they might have been made, fourteen bronzes can be categorized as certainly representations of Dynasty 25 kings displayed in Egypt, with the implication that they depict Tanutamani or an earlier king. Only two (K-14, plate 42, and K-19) were actually excavated in Egypt,[33] but Taharqo (K-4; plate 33) displayed with the Egyptian god Hemen can be assigned to Egypt by subject matter discussed further below, and eleven others (K-6–8, K-11–13, K-15–18, K-20; see plates 35–37, 40, 41, 43, 44) by other secondary evidence, that is, their defaced regalia (if K-43 and K-47 were confirmed the total would be sixteen).

Suggested groupings

While apparent visual similarities are difficult to rely upon when so few images are inscribed, and while such similarities need continual cross-checking and review as new information develops, it seems important to take the first step of trying to suggest some visual groupings. It must be emphasized that these are tentative, and awaiting revision.

Relatively early (*Shabaqo and near*)
There are two bronzes (K-2, -3; plate 31, 32) that suggest proximity to, if not identity with, Shabaqo. There is no clue to the provenance of these pieces. The similarity of the standing figure K-2 to K-1 has already been noted by Russmann.[34] The broad nose and wide mouth are particularly similar.

A very broad nose with strong ridges out from it, a short upper lip, wide mouth and short heavy lower face, also distinguish K-3. The tip of the nose of this bronze is particularly low, if not actually worn, and with the short upper lip and rather grim smile this distinguishes him from some of the more Nubian appearing images of Taharqo discussed below.

Taharqo
Among the bronzes there are at least three Taharqo types:

The first is represented by the inscribed bronzes K-4 (plate 33) and K-5 (plate 34), whose features follow those of the black head from Egypt discussed above, while exaggerating the smile somewhat.

A defaced bronze with an unreadable inscription, and therefore a representation of a Dynasty 25 king, K-6 (plate 35) is in some respects similar to K-4 and K-5 and a possibility for this group. The king has a relatively small nose, fairly suppressed

-31, -33, -34), and is also found among bronzes from many other periods as may be noted by surveying the catalog. The extended arms of bronze kings are particularly vulnerable regions, and, if additional reasons for a particular susceptibility are wanted, it would be important to look for clues in variations of composition and casting, and in other circumstances.

33 One of the bronzes with mutilated regalia (K-15), is an art market piece which traveled with a dealer provenance of "Saqqara," not on the face of it unlikely given Emery's roughly contemporary work at the site and his discovery of numerous bronze caches; the same provenance has been suggested for others, see Bothmer, "Egyptian Antiquities," p.41 comment. However, no defaced Kushite bronze that I know of has an excavated provenance.

34 *Representation*, p. 13 note 1, p. 20 n. 5, p. 65

Kushite fold, and small somewhat curving mouth. On the other hand the statuette's eyes are quite narrow, his upper lip short and the whole lower face is considerably more prominent than in either K-4 or K-5; the forcefulness of his expression bears some relation to K-3 discussed above as probably different than Taharqo and perhaps relatively early.

A second type is represented by the inscribed bronze K-7 (plate 36), with a wider nose, more marked fold, broader but still smiling mouth, and heavier cheeks. K-8 (plate 37), another bronze, defaced like K-7 and therefore a representation of a Dynasty 25 king, is extremely similar to it and probably should also be dated to Taharqo.

A third type can be seen in the inscribed bronze K-9 (plate 38) from Kawa. The head is larger, the eyes much larger and very rounded in the sockets, the nose very broad with a strong tip and with slanting ridges, and the mouth wide with prominent lips and a small chin.

A possible fourth type is represented by the sphinx K-10 (Plate 39), a rather idealized image with oval face and slightly thickened lips.

Taharqo?

Two bronzes, K-11 (plate 40) and K-12 are closely similar to each other and present an image which is not quite any of those discussed above. Both of these are defaced bronzes and therefore should represent Dynasty 25 kings. These both show a face with wide eyes set in pockets of flesh, a fairly small nose, suppressed folds, very slightly smiling and very protuberant lips, and a very small lower face. Russmann noted a close similarity of the first to K-5 above which represents Taharqo;[35] the eyes are larger in both K-11 and K-12, however, giving them a somewhat different appearance.

The Athens king K-13

Kneeling bronze K-13 (plate 41) is fully twice the size of any other kneeling bronze from the Kushite Period. The virtually complete defacement of its distinctive regalia and inscription for Psamtik are unusual features, but this is a unique statue and consideration of these aspects belongs to an individual study of this piece. For this investigation, the defacement indicates that it represented a king of Dynasty 25 in Egypt, and the inscription – which does seem to be ancient – implies it was displayed under Dynasty 26.

The sculpture is quite remarkable. Only the very round head, thick neck, and broad strong shoulders imply a date near the Kushite Period, as the features are almost entirely regularized. The eyes and brows are naturally rendered, i.e. there are no plastic or incised brows or cosmetic lines, and the eyes themselves are reasonably large, rounded around a vertical axis in their center which represents the "edge" of the frontal plane of the face. The nose is moderate sized, fairly sharp, and not at all distinctively Kushite. There is no trace of the Kushite fold near the nose. The mouth is small with fine lips that project a pleasant expression though they do not precisely smile; interestingly, there is no philtrum. In profile the lower part of the face is rather

35 Russmann, *Representation*, p. 20.

prominent, and the roundness of the cheeks and slope from round small chin to neck accord with the Kushite type.

The figure's body is quite handsomely modeled. The extremely thick neck joins very broad horizontal shoulders in a slightly sloping plane bounded by the clavicles. A rather long and massive breast area is shown: the lower profile of the fleshy protruding breasts rises to a rounded depression over the breast bone, and from there descends a fairly broad furrow that narrows to a median line and ends at a round navel in the soft stomach. In profile view, double grooves can be seen in the calves of the leg.

Overall, of course, the statue resembles in a general way Peftjaubast of the Third Intermediate Period (TIP-13; plate 23), but mainly owing to the impression of massiveness conveyed by that statue and to features representing in any case the complex cross-currents between the late Third Intermediate and Kushite Periods. The Athens king's small mouth no wider than the nose is also similar to that statuette, but that feature was already noted to be possibly an element of a wider style found in this period, and the same layout of that part of the face can be seen in the sphinx of Psamtik I from the Karnak Cachette.[36] While the face of the bronze statue is similar to the black head of Taharqo in its suppression of overtly Kushite characteristics and strong idealization, it is perhaps closest to the very rounded heads and full and forceful but idealized features of the stone statues of Shabaqo studied by Russmann; and in particular to the small head in Brooklyn (plate 30) also assigned by her to that group. This last shows a particularly fine sharp nose, and – surprisingly – an upper lip without a philtrum like the bronze.

The body modeling offers little assistance; bronze and stone statuary of the periods of Shabaqo and Taharqo can show strongly bipartite modeling. The heavily muscular shoulders and upper body are perhaps more characteristic of Taharqo's named bronzes, but evidence is thin for the earlier kings. The very heavy breasts of this piece are particularly unusual.

Leg grooves are another possible point of distinction. A predilection for emphasized leg musculature is known in relief since the time of Sheshonq III in Third Intermediate Period Egypt, is noted in reliefs (and occurs in stone statuary preserved in Nubia) during Dynasty 25, and occurs fairly consistently in Egyptian bronzes and stone statuary up to about mid Dynasty 26.[37] Russmann was able to note no examples among Dynasty 25 *bronzes,* however, but only in one example (K-48) that for a variety of reasons must postdate Dynasty 25. This is, however, just the kind of detail that is difficult to check without precise photographs. The new bronzes K-7 (dated by inscription to Taharqo) and K-8 at least show some calf modeling, though not the very marked grooves seen on this statue. In any case, the feature is not too compelling as a precise criterion since it did exist in relief and especially since this is such a large and unusual bronze.

On the whole, then, I feel the statue fits best as a strongly idealized representation of Shabaqo based on parallels to his stone statues. Shebitqo is insufficiently known,

36 JE 36915, discussed in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods chapter.

37 Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 123; Russmann, *Representation*, p. 22–3; for Dynasty 26, see the discussion in the next chapter.

Taharqo is possible, and the suggested images of Tanutamani seem quite different.[38]

Facially, two bronzes seem to resemble this one in the drawing of the small scarcely smiling mouth (K-14 and -44), but neither offers any particularly suggestive clue itself. The first (K-14) is from Karnak, of very good work and has also a roughly similar small nose and large cheeks. The second is damaged in the nose and the resemblance may be more fortuitous as it seems in any case to possibly represent a female.

Napatan bronzes

The problem remains of distinguishing dynasty 25 period Napatan bronzes from Napatan bronzes of successor periods and possibly even Meroitic periods. The provenances from the various Nubian temples assist very little. The temples created at the time of Napatan rule of Egypt remained more or less actively in use throughout the Napatan and then the Meroitic period, and the bronzes were not found in contexts which offer more than very unhelpful late Meroitic termini.[39]

The Kawa Taharqo (K-9; plate 38) with its overlarge head, a feature also found among some of the 7th and early 6th century stone statuary from Gebel Barkal discussed above, suggests this may be a feature of some bronzes of that period, though it does not suggest how long such a feature might last. There is no evidence that bronzes stylistically similar to the bronzes ascribable to use in Egypt are also found in Nubia, although it must be borne in mind that there are bronzes of that style with no indication of provenance. In relation to the features of K-9, however, bronzes K-21–25 (plates 45– 47) could potentially fall within the same chronological range in Nubia, with perhaps numbers K-21, K-22, and perhaps K-23 to be distinguished as a separate group by showing heads that are more rounded in back and less flat than the others.

There are no bronzes that can be placed in proximity to K-26, the large Meroitic figure, unless it is possibly K-31 by its small head with pretty features and large shoulders. This would be an interesting piece to study further, but it is in Khartoum and only poorly pictured in the excavation volumes.

A number of the other Nubian bronzes seem stylistically likely to be later in

[38] See Russmann, “Two Royal Heads,” pp. 101–108; these show what seems to be a relatively broad and shorter face, wide eyes and strongly marked plastic brows, and long cosmetic lines, along with a very strong Kushite fold in the example that actually represents a king.

[39] The Kawa Taharqo (K-9) derives from an unspecified area in Temple A, the late Dynasty 18 temple renewed by Taharqo (Macadam, *Kawa* II, object 974, see Object Register Provenience List p. 121 and Description on p.144; Russmann’s catalog in *Representation* gives Temple T in error, pp. 65–6 IIB27). There is, however, certainly Meroitic use of Temple A (Macadam, *Kawa* II, pp. 28–44 passim), and the fine aegis from Kawa has an inscription of King Arnekhamani, dated now to 235–218 B.C. (Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 211 no. 133). Most of the Kawa bronzes derive from the Bronze Find at Temple T, which seems to be closed by a late Meroitic bonfire (Macadam, *Kawa* II, pp. 24–25), and finds indicate the temple itself was still in use at least as late as about 30 B.C. Most of the bronzes appeared to the excavators to be “early Napatan.” Still, the site was certainly at least intermittently active throughout the Napatan and Meroitic periods. For the middle period, the inscription of Amanneteyerike, contemporary with the first Persian domination in Egypt (Macadam, *Kawa* I, p. 62, Inscription IX, ll. 71–81) on the one hand makes it clear that the temple was tumbled down and covered with debris, but then describes energetic clearance of the avenue of the temple and celebration of a day and night processional festival there. The one bronze from Gebel Barkal (K-21) derives from the outer court of the Great Temple of Amun, again an area with finds of a wide date range (Dunham, *Barkal*, p. 43 under MFA 21.3096, and see other finds there).

Nubia, particularly those with small flat bases and variant hand positions (K-35–37) that are features similar to those sometimes found among later (rather than earlier) Late Period examples in Egypt as discussed in the next chapter.

Post-Dynasty 25 Kushite style bronzes in Egypt

One last group remains to be considered, that is pseudo-Kushite style bronzes created in Egypt after the end of Dynasty 25, a category recognized by Edna Russmann. She identified three candidates for this category (cat. 35, 38, 64), and with some hesitation about its age I add a fourth (cat. 49). The significant features in establishing the category are the regalia, in particular a crown that resembles the Kushite cap crown, since the features and bodies of none of the examples closely resemble the bronzes of Dynasty 25: shoulders and torsos are narrow, and other features deviate from the Kushite norms.

Despite certain deviations of costume, cat. 64 (K-48) shows close awareness of the appearance of the Kushite diadem on the cap crown, though I do not know the ribbed streamer on a Kushite crown but only on an Egyptian one. The strong modeling of musculature on the legs, unknown to Russmann for Kushite bronzes, does exist in Dynasty 25 bronzes as pointed out above in the discussion of K-13, but is also apparent in some Dynasty 26 bronzes, see for example the bronze statuette of Necho II (LP-4). Indeed, the features of this small king could fit within the range of mid-Saite style.

The other possible candidates (cat. 35, 38, 49) are more difficult to place. Their skull-clinging cap crowns, particularly the two covered with small ringlets, recall Kushite crowns and are not similar in form to well-made cap crowns known from other periods (see TIP-C or LPPt-34) which tend to swell. The cap of cat. 49 bears a falcon with spread wings on the back, popular on but not restricted to Kushite crowns.[40] The bronzes have, however, no additional specifically Kushite regalia. There is a whole series of generally undistinguished figures in clearly Egyptian style wearing caps of quite simple form with or without ringlets. Most generally they are striding and offer a *shen*-ring (to an animal deity in the one piece whose apparently original mounting is preserved, cat. 74), but they also kneel with hands – when preserved – holding *nw* pots or with palms inwards (cat. 66, 118, 179, 283). Cat. 38 and 49 are quite imaginably such pieces. The other piece in question, cat. 35, remains difficult. It is well-made with clear and unusual features, hard to place in the tradition of either Dynasty 25 or 26. I incline toward situating it within the context of Late Period and onward figures with the cap crown, examples of are discussed further in the next chapter, rather than in the context of Kushite imitations.

Russmann had suggested the bronzes in this category might perhaps have been inspired by the Kushite bronzes still on view throughout the country.[41] Based on the above examination, however, only K-48 seems possibly created as a pendant to a still displayed Dynasty 25 king.

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40 For some remarks on this feature see Hill, "Royal inlay."

41 Russmann, *Representation*, p. 32 note 8.

Two unusual bronzes

Two rather large, well-made bronzes iconographically datable to the general period can now be given closer attention, for contextualization if not for firm dating.

The first (K-46; plate 48) wears Kushite headgear (where, however, the bandeau that is usually surrounded by uraei and the cap itself appear plain[42]) as well as the ram's head necklace, and a smooth kilt with no preserved pleating that is adorned with an apron or hanging panel topped by a feline head.[43] The large squarish face has a natural brow, gilded eyes, a small rather sharp nose, and a wide unsmiling mouth.[44] From the side the profile is quite vertical and hatchet-like, and the top of the head rather high. He holds his hands in a wide gesture not so far attested among the bronzes. The legs are strongly faceted.

The features do not resemble closely any of the kings who have been discussed, though the profile is somewhat similar to the relief profile identified as distinctive for Shebitqo, and the grim expression is perhaps nearer to expressions found among the known or attributed statues of Shabaqo and Shebitqo than among those of Taharqo. Affectless, and even grim expressions are known among Third Intermediate Period bronzes of Phase C, though they also continue into the early Saite Period as noted above in the discussion of K-13.

The second piece (K-45; plate 49) is a quite large striding figure wearing a formerly inlaid atef crown with two large uraei, and holding the preserved arm

[42] Russmann, *Representation*, p. 28 discusses this cloth band worn with the cap crown. The band is usually combined with the uraeus border, "almost invariably" in the case of the bronzes and insofar as it is possible to check the detail. The uraeus diadem is often missing in relief, where it may, however, have been painted on, and on some of the large statuary, where, however, the whole upper area of the crown is rough and the original treatment no longer clear.

[43] This is a somewhat unusual garment. The front fall seems to be the ends of a sash (?) beneath a panther head. The statue of Senkamnisken, Khartoum 1842 (Dunham, *Barkal*, pls. 13 and 14) wears the garment with leopard head above a fall and the leopard skin itself as a cloak. The garment probably ought to be understood in relation to a similar priest-like (presumably the *ỉwn.n-mwt.f*) garment including leopard skin with head above an ornate tiered skirt that is worn by Third Intermediate Period and Kushite Period kings (Montet, *Osorkon II*, pl. 24 for one example among several showing Osorkon II in his tomb at Tanis; such a garment is clearly depicted at Kawa in reliefs preserved from the time of Aspelta, see Macadam, *Kawa* II, pl. 18a; examination shows the lower part including paw of what is surely the same costume worn by Taharqo, pl. 15b; the garment is also worn by an actual priest, p. 77 and pl. 15b). See also Fazzini, *Iconography*, p. 14 in this regard. It is possible other parts of the detailing were indicated in the gilding that archival photographs show was once more extensive on the figure.

As for the garment with the so called feather sporran with uraei sometimes topped by a panther head and discussed in relation to Pedubaste (TIP-9, cat. 12), I am not aware of an example of precisely that costume in the Kushite period, although the sporran (no feather pattern apparent) with uraei alone is certainly also worn by the Kushites. Russmann, *Representation*, p. 25 n. 4 refers to one Kushite bronze statue which wears a longer skirt with triangular front panel and a sporran without leopard head but with two cobras (K-41). The undetailed sporran with uraei but apparently no panther head is seen in reliefs of the period of Taharqo in Kawa (Macadam, *Kawa* II, pl. 17) and at Karnak (Parker, *Edifice*, pl. 10 and 11).

I am grateful to John McDonald for discussing these royal accoutrements with me.

[44] The gilded eyes are unusual; otherwise only K-23, an iconographically unusual piece, and possibly K-15 are said to have inlaid eyes. The grimness of the features has its nearest parallel in the unsmiling but bold and confident expressions of the bronzes of Shabaqo and the Leningrad king, and the somewhat more pinched version of K-23, mentioned above as also having inlaid eyes. However, the downright grimness of this piece is not a usual feature of Kushite representations. As Russmann, *Representation*, p. 23 notes, "Never is a king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty shown aged, or worried looking, or frowning. There is always a look of confidence, often of a slightly smiling benevolence, that may well represent a conscious harking back to the verities of a long vanished Golden Age."

forward to proffer some item, presumably *maat*.[45] The smallish round face, noticeably bulging eyes, and small horizontal mouth differ from the usual Dynasty 25 bronze representations. While the traces of inlay and the evidence of separately cast and then attached arms document methods of decoration and construction infrequent among accepted Dynasty 25 royal bronzes, the size and iconography of the bronze in question are unusual.

Summary chart of Dynasty 25 and Napatan bronzes

The chart follows more or less the organization of the discussion above. The table starts with pieces that can be assigned or grouped near a particular king, then proceeds to pieces of likely or known provenance, followed by unattributed and unprovenanced pieces. Headdress is only specified when the statuette does not wear the Kushite cap. Indications as to any provenance, whether due to excavation or a general presumed provenance indicator such as alteration of Kushite regalia, are given. Measurements are presumed to be without tangs when not specified.

Pieces likely to be later and from Egypt are not included with the exception of K-48; discussion of these matters is found in the text above.

[45] An iconographically similar (crown, pose, both arms down however) bronze figure was discovered at Kawa, which Griffiths had suggested might represent Arsenuphis, but Macadam rightly pointed out the statuette has a crown similar to one worn by Taharqo in a relief (Macadam, *Kawa* II, pl. 17A), and also seems to have traces of corroded double uraei, and therefore to be a king (no. 822, ht. 22 cm from Temple T, in pl. 81d). That bronze is not comparable in facial features to this one, however, and has a rather stocky flaccid torso. The atef crown is worn atop the nemes by a statue of a Kushite king, British Museum EA 63833, judged by Edna Russmann and others to represent Shabaqo, see *Eternal Egypt*, pp. 223–5.

Identification (inscribed names noted)	Russmann numbers	Provenance		Pose	Headdress (if not Kushite cap)	Size in cm
		Egypt	Sudan			

Bronzes from Dynasty 25

1. Shabaqo cat. 17	IIA1			kneeling, hands open		16
2. cat. 287	IIB25			striding, right arm up		18.5
3. cat. 113	IIB15			kneeling offering *nw*		9
4. Taharqo cat. 22	IIA4	by subject		kneeling offering *nw*		11
5. Taharqo cat. 20	IIA2			kneeling, hands open		14
6. cat. 243	new	altered		kneeling		7.2
7. Taharqo cat. 19	new	altered		kneeling		15.5
8. cat. 62	new	altered		kneeling, probably had *nw*	white crown	15.5
9. Taharqo cat. 21	IIB27		Kawa, A	kneeling, hands open		9.3
10. Taharqo cat. 23	IIA3			sphinx on standard	N/A	N/A
11. cat. 72	IIB10	altered		kneeling		11.6
12. cat. 104	new	altered		kneeling		6.7
13. cat. 36	new	altered, "Psamtik"		kneeling, hands open		33.2
14. cat. 69	IIB9	Karnak Cachette		striding, right arm up		15
15. cat. 223	new	said to be Saqqara, altered		kneeling offering *nw*	white crown	15.9
16. cat. 224	new	altered		kneeling offering *nw*		15.1
17. cat. 90	IIB13	altered		kneeling		14.5
18. cat. 255	IIB32	altered		striding, left arm up		14

Identification (inscribed names noted)	Russmann numbers	Provenance		Pose	Headdress (if not Kushite cap)	Size in cm
		Egypt	Sudan			
19. cat. 121	IIB17	Saqqara		striding, holding *hes* vase		9.4
20. cat. 41	new	altered		striding		11.9

Bronzes from Nubia

9. Taharqo as above cat. 21	IIB27		Kawa, A	kneeling, hands open		9.3
21. cat. 68	IIB8		Gebel Barkal	striding, offering *maat*		19.9
22. cat. 112	IIB14		Kawa, A	kneeling, hands open		14.3
23. cat. 190	IIB26		Kawa, T	striding offering *maat*	Onuris? crown	15
24. cat. 78	IIB11		Kawa, T	kneeling, hands open		8.1
25. cat. 114	IIB16		Kawa, T	kneeling, hands open		7.6
26. cat. 150	new		Tabo	striding, holds weapon		45
27. cat. 143	IIB18		Kawa, A	kneeling, hands open		12
28. cat. 144	IIB19		Kawa, T	kneeling, hands open		12.5
29. cat. 146	IIB21		Kawa, T	kneeling, hands open		7.8
30. cat. 145	IIB20		Kawa, T	kneeling		8
31. cat. 148	IIB23		Kawa, T	kneeling		5.6
32. cat. 245	IIB30		Kawa, T	striding offering *nw*		9
33. cat. 60	IIB7		Meroe City	striding holding *hes* vase		11
34. cat. 131	new		Tabo	striding, arms bent forward		10.8
35. cat. 147	IIB22		Kawa, T	striding, left arm up, on thin base		9
36. cat. 149	IIB24		Amentego	striding, palms out, earrings		14
37. cat. 191	IIB28		Kawa, T	striding, palms out		11

Identification (inscribed names noted)	Russmann numbers	Provenance		Pose	Headdress (if not Kushite cap)	Size in cm
		Egypt	Sudan			
Unidentified, unprovenanced						
38. cat. 75	new			striding, hands open		12.2
39. cat. 84	IIB12			kneeling, hands open?		8
40. cat. 261	IIB31			striding, holding *nemset*		14
41. cat. 220	IIB29			striding with vessel		10
42. cat. 107	new			striding, arms missing		10
43. cat. 294	IIB33	altered?		head only		4.1
44. cat. 40	IIB6			head only		3
45. cat. 102	new			striding with [*maat*]	atef crown	31
46. cat. 109	new			striding, arms spread		20.5
47. cat. 37	IIB5	altered?		kneeling, hands open		12.2
Probably post-Dynasty 25						
48. cat. 64	IIC36			kneeling, hands open		8

Observations on the style of the bronzes

Based on the datings it is possible to distinguish the style of the bronzes that can be associated with Egypt from the most common style of those known to be from Nubia. The former generally conform closely to standard Egyptian proportions, with, of course, the predilection of the period for the broad shoulders and narrow waist of Old Kingdom statuary. The bronzes known to be from Nubia (at least one of them certainly also from the period of Dynasty 25) tend to have heads that are larger in proportion to the body, and the latter tends to be less attentively modeled. The consistent differences between the two groups implies that the Egyptian-associated bronzes were made in Egypt, and the Nubian ones in Nubia.

Based on the above, it is tempting to suggest that – with the exception of the Kawa Taharqo (K-9) – not only are most of the bronzes assigned above to Dynasty 25 kings from Egypt, but by their proportions a good many of the unprovenanced unassigned ones are also. This is probably in general true, but the transportability of bronzes and the known presence of Egyptian relief sculptors at Kawa during Dynasty 25 make it possible that bronzes were transported from Egypt to Nubia or that more than one style was made contemporaneously in Nubia.

For the specific style of the Dynasty 25 kings, close examination and groupings identify some new representational types and make it likely the range of individual kings represented could be expanded as discussed above, but corroborating precisely dated evidence is needed to actually make those identifications.

Observations

Developments in the bronze types

The kneeling type with *nw* pots is found five times among the dynasty 25 bronzes whose original hand positions can be deduced (K-3, -4, -8, -15, -16), and the new type with open hands is found four times (K-1, -5, -9, -13), the last of these being by far the largest bronze in the corpus, leaving aside the late Tabo bronze, and certainly one of the largest bronze kneeling kings from all periods. Either type can be inscribed with the king's name. The type with *nw* pots holds the pots in arms bent upward at the elbows, the position first seen in the bronze of Pami in the Third Intermediate Period, so that the pots are breast to shoulder height. A wide range of sizes is found, with roughly 15 cm and 10 cm being the foci.

Among the other types of bronzes known to be from or which I have attributed to Dynasty 25 there are three examples of striding kings with one fist raised (K-2; K-14 from Karnak and K-18 showing alteration are certainly from Egypt), a striding king with arms broken but slightly forward (K-20), a striding king with a *hes* vase (K-19), and the sphinx on the standard (K-10).

For preserved bronzes from Nubia the kneeling pose preserved is the one with hands open (K-9, -22, -24, -25, -27 through -29), although striding kings may offer *nw* pots (K-32) or *maat* (K-21, -23). Variant hand positions that are well established only for the later part of the Late Period in Egypt are shown by other standing kings

from Nubia, who also have atypical ornament such as broad collars or earrings and show indistinct modeling, features that do not fit well in the corpus assigned to Dynasty 25.[46]

Two aspects of this corpus need to be discussed further in relation to the role of bronze statuary. First, the group of Taharqo (K-4) and Hemen from the Louvre has to be examined closely. Secondly, it has to be considered whether any general observations about the role of bronze statuary in this period can be gleaned from the characteristics of the comparatively well-established Kushite corpus.

Taharqo (K-4) and Hemen

This piece would seem to provide satisfying evidence for a particular role of kneeling bronzes, that is the fixed composite group of king offering to a god, this being the earliest preserved partly in metal.[47] In fact, it is often cited as the first preserved occurrence of a bronze votive group,[48] thus reinforcing the occurrences of other bronze groups of king or offerer with a god.

In fact, however, this is a) the *only* preserved group that involves a royal figure in one of the standard poses (offering or with palms turned inward) where the grouping seems likely to be ancient, and b) the only preserved example of a bronze royal figurine in the standard pose that may be on its ancient base.

The conclusions to be drawn are a very complicated matter, and will be evolved at length in the chapter on role, but at this juncture it is good to be clear about just exactly what sort of piece is represented here.

The group was carefully published by Jacques Vandier at the time of its acquisition. It first became known at the sale of the Mansoor collection in 1952, and has no archaeological provenance; there is no particular reason to question most aspects of Vandier's careful recreation of the history of the group as it survives. He suggests reasonably based on the relative quality of the pieces that it combines elements created locally (the falcon) and elements created at some royal center (the bronze), and suggests the following: a stone idol of the god Hemen, whose slightly peculiar iconography is judged to be a result of archaism, was created and broken, refurbished with gold cladding, mounted in a wooden base clad in silver and juxtaposed with the bronze statuette of Taharqo. The latter is very awkwardly mounted so that its tangs are exposed like piles beneath a beach house. The creation of the idol, the breakage, and the mounting with Taharqo are all considered by Vandier to be contemporary events, part of a joint royal and provincial creation of a thanksgiving offering in acknowledgement of the god's beneficial intervention against the famine of about 685. The famine is a historically recorded occurrence in the face of which Taharqo had addressed prayers to Amun, Min of Coptos, and Hemen of Hefat.

Given its uniqueness, its complex materials and complex history, the group does not provide a very lucid example of any habitual practice or provide a good archetype for a presumed typical group offering.

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46 See the discussion of costume below.

47 Rare stone examples are preserved, see Appendix 1.

48 Cf. Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary," p. 67, who mistakenly and probably because of such conceptions, describes the piece as entirely cast in bronze before adding silver and gold cladding.

Implications of the bronze corpus

The range of poses that could be shown above to probably exist contemporaneously during Dynasty 25 was as follows: kneeling offering *nw* pots (K-3, -4, -8, -15, -16), kneeling with palms parallel (K-1, -5, -9, -13), striding offering a *hes* vase (K-19), striding with one fist raised (K-2, -14, -18), striding with broken arms forward (K-20), and as a royal sphinx on a standard (K-10). Leaving aside the very large kneeling statue, the kneeling poses fall into a couple of size groups, around 10 and 15 cm, and the striding poses fall in the range of 9 to 18 cm. The size range of the bronzes does not preclude hypothesizing a fairly systematic assemblage of bronzes, some of whose members might function in proximate roles:

- The kneeling poses are certainly ritual poses, representing the king offering or at least relating to some other potent element.
- Images of kings themselves are seen censing before gods and barks and libating before barks generally.[49] In addition to K-19 with the *hes* vase, it is worth mentioning K-40 which holds a *nemset* vessel, and which by its proportions could also be an Egyptian bronze and of Dynasty 25. Images of statuettes of kings pouring from *nemset* vessels are well-attested on the decks of portable bark shrines.[50] Neither of these pieces can serve any but a cultic or ritual purpose.
- The kings striding with one fist raised and one at the side are more problematic. At least in the case of K-2 the fists are pierced so that they might have held other elements. These statuettes provide the first clear instance of this pose, though missing portions of certain Third Intermediate Period statuettes make it impossible to be sure it did not exist earlier.

Looking to like-posed statuary, the statuettes might be those of kings bearing staff and scepter as a kind of cult focus, whether a contemporary king or perhaps more likely one of the ancestral king statuettes sometimes seen in temple groupings.[51] Or they might be examples of another kind of poorly understood statuette with staff and scepter known to belong to certain rituals or seen in ritual contexts.[52]

Alternatively, they might represent such a statue wielding scepters or weapons in some clearly cultic role: Taharqo lists as a donation to Amun-Re, Lord of Gem-Aten (Kawa): "1 bronze statue of the King smiting foreign countries, and its 6 garments."[53] The strong sense of motion in the statue of Pedubaste (TIP-9) was

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[49] Amenhotep I holds *hes* vases on the exterior wall of the alabaster chapel at Karnak, conveniently fig. 16 on p. 156 of Schulz, *World*; Osorkon II censes before standards, Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. IX 7–10.

[50] See Traunecker, *Achôris*, *passim*.

[51] See Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I*, I pl. 19 for example, and Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 197.

[52] The wooden statuettes from Lisht of the time of Amenemhat II or Senwosret II, thought to have been used in some dramatic funeral ritual, are primary examples of this kind of ritual statuette; the one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is accession no. 14.3.17. See Do. Arnold, *Imhotep*.

[53] Macadam, *Kawa* I, inscr. III (15), p. 8. Commented upon further by Leclant, "Notes," p. 14. The similarity of this description to the gilded statues of Tutankhamun harpooning is also interesting (Carter no. 275c, illustrated and discussed in Edwards, *Treasures*, p. 146–7 and color plate 21; Edwards also discusses the relation of such statues to the battle of Horus and the Sethian hippopotamus depicted at Edfu). Tutankhamun's statue, however, shows an extremely wide stride which seems unlike that of the small statuettes under discussion.

sufficiently out of the ordinary that a smiting or harpooning role is conceivable, though more probably the vivid motion reflects the style of the period. As far as can be judged from pictures, however, the smaller Kushite kings under discussion here stride more sedately than either Pedubaste did or than one would expect the smiting Taharqo to have done.

As a last point, it is interesting and possibly relevant to note that the pose exists in partly reversed forms, that is, there are examples with the left fist raised and the right fist hanging down (K-18), and there are examples with the right fist raised and the left hanging down (K-2, -14). On the one hand, right/left variations of this nature occasionally occur among Third Intermediate Period and Late Period bronzes without any clear indication that the different positions correlate with a particular position or meaning.[54] On the other hand, it is worth considering the possibility of intentional symmetries among fairly programmatic royal material of this nature. While no two of the surviving kings constitute a pair, such a pair might have existed. If one looks for pairs among the ritual statuary depicted, there are genius/guardian figures like those discussed above bearing staff and scepter, and another recurring pair are the kings who act as rudder tenders on the portable barks from the time of Tutankhamun onwards. These last kings raise one arm at about this height to hold the steering rope;[55] though their second arms are not visible, earlier examples showing a single king performing the action indicate that the second arm hung by the king's side.[56]

- Finally the striding sphinx on a standard (K-10), of which examples are known that probably date to earlier periods,[57] is closely associated with divine barks, and implies strongly a use on the divine bark.[58]

The Kushite royal bronze corpus, then, shows a number of certainly ritual poses and another pose that is difficult to specify, but could represent either a semi-divine presence or ritual attendant. In the light of other evidence for the interest of Dynasty 25 in the traditional processions of the Amun cult[59] and the existence of one bronze type specifically made for a bark, it is possible assemblages of bronze kings for barks

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54 A few examples I have noted of bronzes with left leg striding forward but atypically the right arm raised are: the large male bronze Pachasou (Louvre E7963), a few statues of Amun (Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, pl. 7 a/b and c; this god, of course, held the scimitar in his right hand, but these examples clearly held something like a staff). The raised right arm also occurs at earlier periods, *e.g.*, a wooden statue which has been dated to the time of Pepi II (Julia Harvey, *Wooden*, B30, p. 431) and the upper part of another which has been dated to the Middle Kingdom (Eton College Myers Museum 1474, Spurr, *Eton*, p. 17). See also the discussion of kilt reversal in the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period.

55 The height of the bent arm of such kings varies in depictions according to changes in the rope system of the rudder poles; in New Kingdom scenes the holding hand seems lower, the bark representations from the Kushite period are not well preserved, but representations of the time of Achoris show approximately this arm height (see pl. D2 in Claude Traunecker, *Achôris*).

56 See the photographs of bark depictions in Traunecker, *Achôris*, passim.

57 Cat. 71 which has been dated to the Ramesside period; also note cat. 194 which could belong to the Third Intermediate Period. Cat. 106 could well be Kushite.

58 Zivie-Coche, "Sphinx," coll. 1143.

59 Such as the representation of a Kushite statuette on the processional baldachin of Amun depicted on the Saite oracle papyrus, see note 25 above, the celebration of the Opet Festival by Pi(ankh)y in Thebes as recorded in his triumphal stela, see the edition of Grimal, *Pi('nkh)y*, p. 51, celebrations by Taharqo at Sanam and Kawa (Leclant, "Taharqa," coll. 157–8), and possible remains of a royal bark at Kawa in Temple A siderooms with some associated bronzes, discussed at length in the chapter on role.

existed: kings offering, protecting or holding baldachin poles, sphinx standards, *nemset* pourers, and just possibly steersmen.[60]

Material features, Costume, Inscriptions

The quality of the bronzes themselves is generally quite high, the features and ornate regalia very often superbly defined, though, for reasons discussed above, this does not immediately result in the possibility of specific identifications.

Overall the majority of the bronzes are small in size; five examples of which one (K-26) dates considerably later than Dynasty 25 – a small percentage of the whole number – have sizes above 16 cm. In general, the bronzes are noticeably more consistent as to size than during the Third Intermediate Period. Not a great deal is known about the casting technique of these bronzes. While the lack of striking visual evidence of casting cores may not be given much weight, it is more significant that there is little evidence of separately cast arms within the normative range of sizes, since this technique seems to manifest itself archaeologically by arms that fall off at the shoulder join; one of the larger bronzes shows clear signs of separately cast arms (K-45). It is also notable that tangs are consistently rectangular in section and not disproportionately long. On the whole, then, a certain standardization of techniques and sizes can be observed.

There is no evidence of black bronze, but a good many of the bronzes of this period have been noted to retain traces of partial gilding (K-5, -6, -11, -12, -13, -14, -15, -18, -21, -22, -24, -26, -34, -36, -41, -46, -48). Inlay is not frequent: two cases with inlaid eyes (K-23, -46) and another possibly with silver inlaid eyes (K-15) have been noted, and K-45 shows missing crown inlay.

Besides the remarks on costume made above, it should be noted that there are only four instances of kings who do not wear the Kushite cap.[61] Two of these (K-8, -15) wear the white crown, the third (K-23) wears a sort of cap-like modius which may have supported Onuris feathers or another complex crown, and the fourth wears the atef (K-45).

These kings regularly wear a belt that is either plain or shows the pattern of vertical and horizontal groups of lines.[62] As ornaments they may wear earrings, armlets and bracelets, the Kushite neck cord and ram's head amulets or a broad collar necklace, and aprons (?) with feline head or dependent uraei.[63]

It is quite interesting to note that only the kneeling bronzes seem to show (or have shown in the case of erased inscriptions) names, and that apparently among the "Egyptian" bronzes in particular a high proportion were named. This is unlike the picture during the Third Intermediate Period when bronze statuettes whether

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60 Terrace, "Three Bronzes," among numerous others, has put forward the idea in a general way.

61 To Russmann's instances of falcon wings on the back of the crown (*Representation*, p.28 note 7) add K-6, K-38 and cat. 49.

62 The only exceptions are K-48 and cat. 35, two bronzes thought to be Egyptian post-Dynasty 25, the first possibly pseudo-Kushite. Both wear belts that seem to show close diagonal elements between wide borders.

63 Only the definitely and probably later K-26 and K-36 wear earrings. The broad collar, too, is seen on four bronzes (K-38, -41, cat. 35 and cat. 49) of which the three known in images (excluding K-41) appear likely to be post-Dynasty 25. A pendent sash or an apron appears on K-26, -41, -46.

kneeling or standing were often inscribed. This is not to say that standing bronzes of Dynasty 25 could not have been displayed on bases bearing names and inscriptions. Still, it can be regarded as a reminder of the traditional significance of the kneeling pose, and a corollary of the general quality they display.

Secondly, Taharqo provides the first well-dated example of an inscribed name found on the back of the belt (K-4). A second example may have been K-15. Both of these examples are from Egypt itself based on criteria discussed above. Examples known to me of this placement of the name are restricted to the Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 25 and 26.[64]

General Remarks

Considerable attention was devoted to the production of royal bronze statuary by the Kushite dynasty. The period produces a great number of bronze royal statuettes apportioned within a number of fixed, some possibly new, types, a significant group of which belong to a relatively short time span. Along with evidence of standardization of technology and construction, this seems to demonstrate some degree of rationalization of ritual statuary. All of this accords well with the dynasty's understanding of itself as the restorer of the traditional religion and with a centralized program of reinforcement of cult.

If the matter were as simple as that, one could read the bronze statuary of the period as the summary and exemplar of all that had gone before. Of course, however, there had been great political changes in the Third Intermediate Period and perhaps accelerated evolution in tradition which we cannot well measure or understand except to sense its effects in some realms; the result is that we have to wonder to what extent the choice of bronze, for example, is based on tradition or is simply an outgrowth of the nearer tendencies of the late Third Intermediate Period, and, indeed, if the possible assemblages of bark statuary actually existed, whether they might not be physical embodiments of something that before only existed completely in relief representations.

[64] Examples besides K-4 and K-15: LPPt-4, LPPt-15, cat. 57; others instances include the statuette of Harbes (LPPt-A), Brooklyn 37.360E, dating to the time of Psamtik I. Excepting the last and LPPt-4, all these bronzes held *nw* pots. On the one hand this placement of the name may have some function such as allowing the name to be read on a piece meant to face another statue, as often suggested based on the particular case of the Taharqo statue; on the other hand, it could, in addition, be an inventive solution to the physical difficulty of inscribing – after casting as sometimes seems to be the case – the belt rectangle of a statue with cast on arms (see Hill, "Thutmose III," p. 10).

THE LATE AND PTOLEMAIC PERIODS
(WITH A BRIEF NOTE ON THE ROMAN PERIOD)

Introduction

Royal bronze statuettes from the period of Dynasties 26 through 30 and the Ptolemaic Period present particular kinds of difficulties, which then reinforce each other.

The first kind of difficulty is stylistic. In these periods there is a paucity of securely dated royal statuary, whether stone or bronze, to use as a foundation. This problem in evidence is all the more serious because many complex trends that tend to obscure historical markers anyway are at work: the eclectic archaism of the very early Saite period which is, after all, in many respects continuous with the late Third Intermediate/Kushite Periods; the archaizing of the fourth century which seeks to perpetuate the idealizing type of the late Saite period; or the difficult translation between the defined royal image which is Hellenistic in style and the traditional pharaonic expression during the Ptolemaic period. Important scholarly investigations of these stylistic problems are discussed in detail below.

The second kind of difficulty has to do with the bronzes themselves, and two aspects can be described in advance:

a While some bronzes follow rather closely particular royal images that must have been promulgated and are datable to the extent that image can be identified, others are considerably separated from any specifically recognizable image, and at the extreme can only be sorted into groups by style. This is by no means always a reflection of poorer quality, but the general need for a satisfying representation in temple rituals, whether or not a specific king is clearly signified, is also surely a factor. This phenomenon certainly has earlier roots, and roots in aspects of Egyptian temple art in general, but at this time and for this artistic medium, the cumulative difficulties to understanding reach large proportions.

b A very large number of bronze kings were made probably from the later Third Intermediate Period onwards, a good proportion of them certainly belonging in the period now under discussion, along with many other kinds of bronzes.[1] All by association, if not by very good evidence, are bound up in the difficulties

[1] For inscriptionally dated statuettes of gods (mostly Saite, with some Dynasty 27), see Thiem, "A brief note," De Meulenaere, "Bronzes de donation," and De Meulenaere, "[Review of] *Gott und Götter*;" also for an Osiris in Leiden (L.VI.67) datable to the later reign of Darius I, see Raven, "Catalogue Project," p. 530. Non-royal examples dated by inscription include Harbes (Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.360E, tp. Psamtik I, discussed below), Khonserdaisu (London, British Museum EA14466, most recently Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, p. 238–9), Ihat (Selçuk Museum 1965, see previous cited publication for some recent bibliography; Winter, "Bronze aus Ephesos"); by style and inscription, Athens 640 (also has had numbers 1179 and 1609; PM 801–758–010; see most recently Hill, "Aegis of Amasis"). Two known to me only from art market publications are: London Sotheby's, sale catalog July 1, 1924, no. 309, a kneeling shaven headed figure with arms bent at elbows and now missing hands which were

of understanding and tracking the flourishing votive practices of the period. Compounding the difficulties, many of these bronzes of fairly vague date also exist at the fringes of the art world, appearing only in sales and unavailable to closer observation.

As a result, these periods with their interrelated styles and shared problems will profit from being considered together.

Brief review of stylistic studies of the royal image in the periods in question
The sequence of kings and the outline of historical events of the Late Period through Ptolemaic Periods are well-established and need not be resumed here.[2]

The stylistic development of the royal image in statuary is less clear because of the paucity of inscribed examples as noted above, although considerable advances have been made by recent and current work on identifying royal images.

The original art historical studies by H. W. Müller were the first to begin to focus on the problems of statuary in this era.[3] While Bernard Bothmer concentrated on non-royal statuary, he carefully documented royal statuary, himself occasionally noting possible patterns in iconographic details which he thought might point to chronological distinctions, and he also carefully observed dated examples of and established descriptive terms for non-facial modeling.[4] Other important contributions to understanding the art of the period have been made by Edna Russmann.[5] A study by Karl Myśliwiec presents a compendium of images which can be used with the reservation that many of his deductions and datings are not accepted.[6] A very important reappraisal of the material by Anthony Leahy points out the strengths and weaknesses of various attributions from an inscriptional point of view.[7]

Most recently, building on earlier work, Jack Josephson has grouped a number of images around Apries or Amasis, from which he has then, in general convincingly, distinguished fourth century types.[8] His organization perhaps too narrowly identifies types with particular kings in the post-Persian and pre-Ptolemaic period, given the poor state of the evidence and his rather narrow exploitation of any evidence except

held at shoulder height, cartouches of Psamtik I on shoulders, figures of Isis and Osiris engraved on his back; Paris, Drouot sale catalog October 2, 2000, no. 393, a striding, shaven headed figure with arms forward from the elbows, hands missing, a great priest of the domain of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, "Irethorererou," son of the god's father "Tchienhes." A large female seated bronze "adoratress" with the cartouches of Amasis on her throne is illustrated in Delange, "Bronze méconnu," p. 68 fig. 4 and pp. 70–71. Other important work concerned with groups of relatively defined date has been done by numerous scholars including Christiane Ziegler, Luc Delvaux, Frédéric Colin.

2 Kienitz, *Geschichte Ägyptens* is the standard history for the Late Period, but is much supplemented by other studies, which can often be found referred to in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, or may be referred to below. Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Empire* is the recent and important study of the Ptolemaic Period.

3 Especially "Torso," pp. 183–221; "Nektanebo;" also see *ESLP* in which Bothmer, Müller, and De Meulenaere collaborated.

4 Besides the *Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture*, a photographic and written documentation archive located in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, see chiefly *ESLP*; De Meulenaere and Bothmer, "Osiris;" Bothmer and De Meulenaere, "Hor," esp. pp. 7–10 and pl. 3; Bothmer, "Hellenistic Elements."

5 Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat."

6 Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*; see also De Meulenaere, "Review of *Portraiture*."

7 Leahy, "Sculpture Review."

8 Josephson, "Altered head;" the same, "Late XXVI;" the same, *Royal Sculpture*, with references to other work.

that of facial modeling of stone statuary. Certainly his work is valid and significant if used in terms of identifying broader period styles, as will be explored further below as specific points and specific pieces come into question.

For the Ptolemaic Period, the work of R. R. R. Smith arguing for a promulgation of specific royal images across a spectrum of larger stylistic types – Hellenistic, mixed Hellenistic/Egyptian, and Egyptian – has been very important in beginning to analyze the interaction of Hellenistic and Egyptian types and in revitalizing stalled efforts to identify and date Ptolemaic royal statuary.[9] Jack Josephson's work has dealt importantly with the earlier Ptolemaic period before this phenomenon seems to have clearly emerged; Paul Stanwick deals with the larger Ptolemaic Period and the complicated problems of actually working out the relationships among the different images.[10] Their work and implications for the bronzes will be discussed more specifically in the appropriate place.

The evidence of the bronzes both supports and complicates the picture given by these important recent studies. It seems, therefore, that it is best to proceed synthetically, presenting the dated and well-attributed stone material alongside the inscriptionally dated bronzes; from this results a fuller picture of the development of statuary during the periods in question, which allows specific or period-attribution of a certain number of uninscribed bronzes. The larger discussion is divided into three parts, the first on the Saite Period, the second on the post-Saite through Ptolemaic Period, and the third commentary on the whole.

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9 His views are stated in "Ptolemaic Portraits."

10 Stanwick, "Bust;" "Metropolitan;" *Royal Ptolemaic*; *Portraits of the Ptolemies*.

PART I: DYNASTY 26

Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.)

Inscriptionally dated sculpture in stone and bronze

With Psamtik I both the Third Intermediate Period and the Kushite Period may be said to come to an end, however, they come to an end only quite gradually. Even as Psamtik I only gradually asserted control over the country and seems never to have acted against the memory of the Kushite pharaohs,[11] the artistic image of his reign is marked by different stylistic currents, and no unified national style is yet observable.

A white limestone sphinx in the Cairo Museum from the Karnak Cachette is probably to be attributed to Psamtik I: it has a fairly round face, rather wide-set eyes, and thin lips no wider than the nose area; the round face and eclecticism of the style relate best to the later part of the Third Intermediate Period.[12]

A dark stone sphinx formerly in a New York private collection has the royal name Psamtik, somewhat awkwardly spaced, on its chest. It has been exhibited as a Kushite sphinx with reworked uraeus and a later inscription.[13] However, it is not clear that the uraeus has really been reworked, and the harsh somewhat heavy features are well known among private officials of the late Dynasty 25 and also early Dynasty 26 era in Thebes and perhaps elsewhere.[14] It seems to me possible that it is a piece of the reign of Psamtik I; clearly many questions remain which make this piece difficult to accept as a standard.

A third sculpture of yet another style has been attributed to Psamtik I based on its close similarity to a very fine Osiris statue from Medinet Habu which bears the king's name.[15] This royal head and the Osiris both show characteristic modeling of fleshy horizontal ridges alongside the nose inherited from the Kushite period, but otherwise their long rectangular faces and narrow eyes follow a distant late Ramesside model.

Distinctive relief portraits of the king with a heavy face and receding pudgy chin are found in Thebes and Edfu, and also on one of a series of basalt slabs perhaps from Heliopolis or Sais;[16] these bear some similarity to shawabtis which may – or

[11] See footnote 31 in previous chapter relative to erasures and usurpations on Kushite monuments by Psamtik II. The continuity of some of the officials in Thebes who had been Kushite officials is frequently discussed; for this and for difficulties with achieving the submission of some of the Delta rulers still ongoing in 655 after the south had been reintegrated, see Spalinger, "Psammetichus I." For some very long-lasting effects of the divisions in the Third Intermediate Period see Leahy, "Libyan Period."

[12] Illustrated as figure 1 in Josephson, "Psamtik I?;" also see Josephson, "Late XXVI," p. 93 where it is mentioned and discussed; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 68 no. 2. See, however, De Meulenaere's comments in "Review of *Portraiture*," col. 123.

[13] See the discussion of erasure and alteration in the previous chapter.

[14] For a full discussion of this piece, see Fazzini, "Recumbent Sphinx," pp. 39–42.

[15] Josephson, "Psamtik I?"

[16] Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pl. 51 shows the Theban and Edfu relief images of Psamtik I. The date and

may not – represent the king.[17]

There are no bronzes surely attributable to Psamtik I. There is, however, a very interesting kneeling private bronze with hands held forward and palms parallel which is securely datable to early Dynasty 26 by the inscription on the back of his belt identifying him as the courtier Harbes (LPPt-A).[18] This man was an important functionary in the Isis temple at Giza, where he built a chapel, and this role might account in some way for his being represented in this pose and with this gesture, which is not frequently found for private persons.[19] Harbes' statuette displays a general body form – round head somewhat flattened at the back, broad shoulders, narrow waist and broad projecting hipbones above a wide straight belt – that is like that of the kneeling Kushite pharaohs discussed in the previous chapter. His large eyes and wide slightly smiling mouth also resemble those of some Kushite period private statuary and certain royal bronzes.

Bronzes assignable to the Late Third Intermediate Period or the period of Psamtik I

One bronze kneeling king surely belongs to the area of stylistic intersection among the Third Intermediate, Kushite, and Saite Periods, and might tentatively be assigned to Psamtik I himself (LPPt-1; plate 50).

The facial features of this king were related by Bernard Bothmer to those of shawabtis with the royal name Psamtik, and, though his acceptance of the assignment of those shawabtis to Psamtik I is not everywhere shared, the features can be compared across media to the well-dated and strongly "realistic" relief depictions of Psamtik I in the Tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes.[20] The harshness and realism of the features relate well to the Kushite Period; the brow line and the slight fold of flesh just at the sides above the wings of the nose certainly recalls Kushite models and, furthermore, is seen in the stone sculpture attributed to Psamtik I and the Osiris dated to his reign, both discussed above. Other features strongly indicate a dating near the Kushites. The wide level belt and jutting hipbones point to a period very near the Kushite period and not much later.[21]

In fact H. W. Müller suggested the statuette might be Kushite. The single uraeus does not preclude this, but makes it less likely. The attention to the leg muscles

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purpose of the basalt slabs and their representations of Psamtik I, II (or Necho II), and Nectanebo I are much discussed; the slabs are illustrated in Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pls. 53, 55, 86, and most recently discussed in relation to one another in Arnold, *Late Temples*, pp. 71, 75–6, 108 and notes, to which add Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, pp. 244–246.

17 Aubert, *Statuettes*, pp. 211–2; a fuller list is found in Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, p. 46; also see Ede, *Egyptian Sculpture* XXIII (Summer 1996) sales catalogue, no. 19. For a frank and skeptical appraisal of the situation, see Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 69.

18 Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.360 E, ht. 11.5 cm, published in detail by Russmann, "Aspects," pp. 157–9 figs. 8–12 (with previous bibliography) and discussed further by Zivie-Coche, *Giza*, p. 128 and generally pp. 129–135.

19 See Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 678–684. The same pose is shown in reliefs from Harbes' chapel at Giza, briefly considered in the chapter on role.

20 See notes 16 and 17 above.

21 For both compare the bronzes of the Kushite kings discussed in the previous chapter. For the wide level belt in the period of Psamtik, see also the damaged stone statue of Psamtik I, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen, AAb211, clear in the good view illustrated as fig. 6 in Russmann, "Amenemope-emhat," with references in her note 50 to publications of other views. The curved belt begins already in the period of Psamtik I as may be seen in private statuary, for example, *ESLP* no. 18, no. 20 etc.

seen in this bronze is particularly popular in stone statuary from the beginning of the Saite period, though this is hardly diagnostic.[22] Also, though some problem related to casting may have caused the pectorals to form such a marked fold line, the combination of prominent pectorals having a sharply receding lower profile with a broad shallow vertical groove bisecting the trunk is familiar from numerous instances in early dynasty 26.[23] Finally, the headdress, while it presents a rather eclectic patterning and uraeus, shows the wide ear tabs separated from the frontlet that become standard in Saite renditions of the nemes.[24]

Though only known through poor photos, another possible candidate for a dating to the very early Saite period, or at least the late Third Intermediate Period/early Saite milieu, ought to be mentioned here because it affords an example of *nw* pots held in the high position well-known during the Third Intermediate and Kushite Period and points to its possible continuation in the Saite Period (LPPt-2). The figure has broad shoulders and a low broad level belt that bespeak Kushite prototypes, while its heavy harsh features vaguely evoke the piece just discussed.

Two bronzes bear the royal name Psamtik. The first is very clearly a quite magnificent reworked Kushite royal bronze; it has been discussed in the chapter on bronzes of the Kushite Period as K-13. The second (LPPt-3) is a small standing king holding a *shen* ring forward at a low angle; the ring has the name of Psamtik in a cartouche on the flattened lower edge. While I have only studied the piece while it remained in its vitrine, it is possible to make a few observations. The king has a smooth round face with small features and without much specificity. He wears the triple-stripe nemes well-known in the Middle Kingdom, perhaps an instance of the phenomenon of archaism well-known in early Dynasty 26.[25] The ring-holding type is known, but this is the only inscribed example with which I am familiar. The piece will be mentioned again below in consideration of certain types that appear in the Late Period and give possible indications regarding the role of bronze statuary during this period.

Necho II (610–595 B.C.)

Inscriptionally dated sculpture

Only one sculptural image reasonably termed royal, since it was certainly made to function in a royal/divine context, can be attributed unequivocally by inscription

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[22] Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat," p. 107, nn. 44–5; also Russmann, *Representation*, p. 23 note 1 and Appendix II no. 36. The leg grooves were not known to her in bronzes in the Kushite Period, but now see K-13, discussed above.

[23] Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat," p. 105–6 and her note 31. See also, however, K-13 which shows something similar if more closely related to normal firm bipartition.

[24] The patterning is seen periodically, but here the narrow segments are emphatically narrow, calling to mind the Middle Kingdom triple-line nemes pattern without matching it (Evers, *Staat* II, pp. 11–14; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 17.9.2 is a good example of this pattern from the Middle Kingdom), but see LPPt-3. Thick snakes were worn by the Kushites, generally with a wide meander directly behind the upright body, but occasionally straight (K-45); short stocky uraei, but with curves, are known in the Old Kingdom, see for example Johnson, Cobra, no. 45, p. 102; the simple hood decoration is seen repeatedly in Dynasty 4 and early 5, see her uraeus hood type chart on p. 245.

[25] Evers, *Staat* II, pp. 11–14.

alone to the reign of Necho II, a silver statue of a nude woman with the king's two names on either arm (LPPt-B; plate 51).[26] Most notably for purposes here, she has a triangular-shaped face that is broad at the level of the eyes and then tapers to a narrow rounded chin. Her brows are fairly level but dip slightly at the inner edges over the nose, and the eyes, while slightly higher at the outer corners than at the inner corners, can hardly be said to slant. Her nose is fairly wide and pointed, and her mouth is rather wide, with a thick level upper lip, and lower lip of approximately the same maximum width that forms, however, a distinct arc. Her figure is slim and elongated, but with fleshy areas and bone structure given emphasis.

The facial shape in particular, the angle of the eyes, and the drawn-up appearance of the mouth, are elements of a well-known Saite type. Elements and even the formulated style appear in some private stone statuary dated to the reign of Psamtik I, but the style emerges more strongly in private statuary of the reign of Necho II/Psamtik II, is seen here in a royal statue of the first of those reigns, and remains a dominant strain while evolving hereafter thorough the dynasty.[27]

Two bronze kneeling kings have the name Necho, and show the developed Saite type, so that I believe they can be reasonably attributed to Necho II rather than to Necho I (which would require their being contemporary with Taharqo).[28]

The first (LPPt-4; plate 52) was badly overcleaned before entering a museum, but it is clear the piece is very impressively modeled, if not quite conventionally. The face is triangular, the eyes slanted and the mouth quite curved. The throat is full. The king's body is both elongated and very heavy at breasts and buttocks; his chest has the wide median groove and heavy breasts already remarked on from the time of Psamtik I, and strong grooves are visible on the calves. Here the king's name appears on the back of his belt. His nemes has a slightly odd peaked shape from the side, where very peculiarly rounded and striped ear tabs are also visible. Moreover, his kilt is folded right over left, a very unusual feature.[29]

The second king (LPPt-5; plate 53) has a similar but longer facial shape, similar features, but a markedly convex profile. His headgear emphasizes the oddities of his physiognomy – the very long curved profile and full throat are topped by a very large uraeus cantilevered out from the top of his nemes, and the narrowness of his lower

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[26] New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 30.8.93; Becker, "Silver Statuette," pp. 37–56, especially figures 1 and 2, while they are not close-ups, show the features in the best angle for comparison.

[27] For earliest occurrences of the slanting eyes and smile, see De Meuelenaere, "Osiris," p. 16.

[28] A third king (cat. 70) is frequently cited as a bronze of Necho II, but examination indicates the association of the king with the base bearing the name of Necho II is modern. For further remarks, see its catalogue entry.

[29] For a discussion of the phenomenon, particularly in relation to very rare examples of the Middle and New Kingdoms and as a possible reflection of left-handedness, see Reeves, "Left-handed?" Reeves also discusses other possible explanations for the phenomenon, including the possibility of mirror pairs, which as he points out are quite uncommon in Egyptian art until the Roman Period. The possibility that statuettes like the bronze of Necho were meant to mirror other kings with whom they were paired seems extremely unlikely; in the extraordinary case of the two kings noted below that are so similar that some kind of associated use seems just possible, LPPt-9 and 10, *both* have the reverse kilt fold. He also usefully summarizes (pp. 250–251) in this context W. K. Simpson's earlier observations about the existence of a "royal fold" and a "private fold" in the Old Kingdom. It is worth considering whether the concentration of occurrences on royal bronzes in the Saite Period might be a sort of false archaism, alluding to the Old Kingdom when a distinctive fold was employed for private persons – "private fold" was right over left, and the "royal fold" was left over right. This is discussed further below.

face is set off by the strongly flaring wings of the nemes. Under his chin two lines are visible on his throat, a stylistic detail not usually associated with Saite or later statuary, but discussed further below where it occurs again on LPPt-16. The king's torso is laid out similarly to that of the previous example, but its fleshiness, except for a rather round belly, is much less marked. This king's belt, with his name at the buckle, and bracelets are quite detailed.

Psamtik II (595–589 B.C.)

Inscriptionally dated sculpture

Psamtik II is represented by two virtually certain inscribed sculptural images, and a third that may represent either Psamtik II or Apries.

The first, Cairo JE 40052, closely matches the "Saite" image of Necho II. This large head excavated at Elephantine has recently been recognized as probably fitting an excavated statue from the same site with the name of Psamtik.[30] Though only the name Psamtik remains, the sculpture's features resemble the images of Necho II just discussed, though the facial shape is more rectangular: the brows dip slightly over the nose, the eyes are significantly slanted, and the mouth curves markedly, here accentuated by an upper lip that narrows toward the corners. Because the sculpture's connections to the kings of mid-Dynasty 26 (Necho II – Apries) are clear, while those to either the beginning (Psamtik I) or end (Amasis – Psamtik III) of the dynasty are not, Psamtik II is really the only possible attribution. If it were not clearly inscribed as representing a Psamtik, the head is related to the style of the Necho silver statuette and might also have been assigned to Necho just as Jack Josephson assigned it to Apries.

The second is the frequently cited small head in the Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris, which shows a less triangular face somewhat truncated at the short chin, with a fairly heavy underchin.[31] The king's brows are level, the eyes are only slightly slanted, and the mouth is quite narrow mouth with thick lips.

There are no bronze kings that are inscribed definitely for Psamtik II.

Psamtik II (595–589 B.C.) or Apries (589–570 B.C.)

Inscriptionally dated sculpture

One stone head in Bologna has the remains of the Horus of Gold name of either Psamtik II or Apries, and grounds to prefer the latter to the former seem to be invalid.[32] The head is actually reasonably near the small head of Psamtik II in Paris, differing mainly in a more definitely formed chin and less compressed mouth.

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30 Bickel, "Roi Psammétique," esp. figs. 1–6; see Josephson, "Late XXVI," pl. 18b.

31 No. 438, illustrated most recently in Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, Plate II, 3, with a side view also by Müller, "Königsbildnis," pl. 6. In fact the inscription shows only the Horus name of the king, a name also shared by Darius.

32 Museo Civico, no. 1801, very well-illustrated including the inscription by Müller, "Königsbildnis," pls. 4–5; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," pp. 72–3.

Apries (**589–570 B.C.**)

Inscriptionally dated sculpture
Excepting possibly the stone example discussed above as dating to either Psamtik II or Apries, there are no preserved heads attributable by inscription to Apries. There are, however, two bronze statues inscribed for him.

The large bronze Louvre sphinx (LPPt-11; plate 58) has the erased cartouche of Apries rather oddly placed on either shoulder at an angle following the diagonal of the muscle. Though the sphinx was clearly in some respects heavily worked over, the face itself appears to be original. The face is almost rectangular with a pointed chin, quite similar to the Bologna head. Eyes slant to a greater degree and the mouth is less smiling. The nose has a narrow fine ridge running quite high, and is pointed.

The second bronze is a kneeling king (LPPt-12; plate 59). The belt buckle has the name *Wꜣḥ-ỉb-Rꜥ*, and a group of broken bronze slabs apparently to be associated have texts including the name Apries.[33] Here the king's face is quite different. It is heavy, particularly in the area of the cheeks, coming to a rather small chin which is heavy back to the throat. The brows slope downwards from above the nose toward the temples in an arc, the eyes are rather large and do not slant markedly, the nose is fleshy, the lips are thick and actually somewhat protruding.

The bronzes demonstrate that there are two images of Apries, the one having the more strongly slanted eyes and triangular face of the middle Saite image attested since the time of Necho II, the other moving toward a more oblong fleshy face, with level eyes, and still smiling but more level mouth with broad lips.

It is difficult to say what implications they have for the dating of the group of stone heads Jack Josephson has suggested ought to be assigned to Apries. Certainly the oblong heavy-faced pieces may well be Apries,[34] but for the pieces with more marked chins and slanted eyes,[35] while observations based on first-hand inspection have to be given due weight even if they are not fully demonstrated by photographs, it is not possible to decide between Psamtik II and Apries given the fact that versions of this "dynastic" image existed under both kings and that, following Leahy, there is some reason to argue that Psamtik II, short as his reign was, may have had the larger number of statues.[36]

It is also important to note here the peculiar uraeus on LPPt-12: the exposed curve of the snake's body is difficult to account for unless this is one of the hanging snakes identified by Jack Josephson, who, however, dated the form first to Nectanebo I.[37] Appearance of the feature here already certainly complicates its use as a dating tool, but it is striking that to our current knowledge the form appears first in bronze royal sculpture, a fact which will be discussed further below.

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33 See the catalogue entry for further information.
34 His plate 18, "Late XXVI," excepting of course be now known to represent Psamtik II, see above.
35 His plate 17, "Late XXVI."
36 Leahy, "Sculpture Review," pp. 71–2.
37 See Josephson, "Variant Uraeus."

Amasis (570–526)

Inscriptionally dated sculpture
There is one sphinx with preserved head whose inscription survives sufficiently to indicate it represents Amasis.[38] This is a very impressive piece, large and executed in a stone with unusual brown subtones. The royal image it presents is close to that of Apries as seen in the kneeling bronze. The face is heavy, particularly at the cheeks and under the chin, the brows form one clean arc only slightly flattened over the eyes and interrupted by a bump over the nose, the eyes droop slightly at the outer corners, and the lips are thick and only turned up slightly at the outer corners.

Four royal bronzes have the name of Amasis. Two (LPPt-13, LPPt-14) belong to censers. They are both well-formed and clean-lined. The face of LPPt-13 shows relatively narrow eyes, a straight small nose, and a slightly smiling mouth. This piece is the only inscriptionally dated Saite bronze of a king in the blue crown; this blue crown seems not to have rings, but does have two horizontally striped streamers hanging from its rear edge. These are the first dated examples of the type of censer bearing a kneeling king on the handle; the type will be discussed further below.

The other two bronzes are LPPT-15 and LPPT-16. The first (plate 60) shows the king kneeling and holding *nw* pots with his forearms paralleling his thighs. This is the first bronze attributable by inscription to dynasty 26 to hold *nw* pots, and the first example met so far of this lowered arm position. This position and the relatively thick body are reminiscent of stone examples of the pose.[39] The king was inscribed on the back of the belt, but the inscription was damaged at some point, presumably in removing the gold leaf, and is also inscribed down the skirt front. This alteration has led to imagined scenarios of erasure and usurpation.[40] However, careful examination indicates the damaged inscription also simply gave Amasis' name, and there is no basis for attributing the bronze to any other pharaoh.

The king's proportions are somewhat odd, his head overlarge and his legs in profile short in comparison to other kneeling bronzes. His body is soft and forms are indistinct; only the breasts are slightly heavy. The small face is oval but lengthened by a rather long and thick chin going back to the neck; the king has natural brows, deeply incised slanted eyes, a small straight nose, and a mouth whose wide flat upper lip slants backward so that it is shadowed slightly over a small lower lip, creating an almost coloristic effect.

The second (LPPt-16; plate 61) is an aegis from Saqqara with the king's head, the names of Amasis being inscribed in the center of the broad collar. The king's face has a u-shape. The brows are not plastic but only ridges under the skin, that is the "natural brow." The eyes are tilted, the lower lid having a sinuous profile, and – quite unusual in combination with a natural brow – they have a long narrow cosmetic line indicated in relief. The mouth is small and precisely rimmed, the upper lip extending horizontally over the lower, which protrudes slightly in the center and

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[38] Rome, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 35, 90 cm high, 128 long; although the color is not quite correct, the sphinx is handsomely illustrated in Arslan, *Iside*, p. 391.
[39] As Russmann noted more generally, "Royal Statuette," p. 154.
[40] *ESLP*, p. 51, and Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 66.

narrows at its outer edges.[41] The ears are rendered in rather remarkable detail. The small head exhibits two other characteristics usually not associated with Saite or later statuary, lines under the throat and earring holes.[42] In general, the small head presents a strongly idealizing image with a nascent over-emphasis on certain details, rather on the pattern of New Kingdom kings like Thutmose IV or early Amenhotep III, before the emergence of the extremely mannered elegance of the Kom el-Heitan material or the childlike evocations of Amenhotep III's later years.[43] The features and forms are very purely rendered, the piece itself is technically very fine, but at the same time the combination of brow and eye forms is highly self-conscious.

The extremely refined and slightly strange quality, if not the actual forms, of the last images may be related to the more overtly odd quality of a group of heads which Jack Josephson and others attribute to Amasis, and which he characterizes as displaying an "impressionistic" quality or "mannerism."[44] None of the heads of this group can be attributed to Amasis by inscription, but by many criteria they belong appropriately in this period, and can hardly be attributed to another king.[45] These heads, however, though all of extremely high levels of craftsmanship, show a different and considerably stranger image of the king than seen in either of the bronzes under discussion, one with narrow tilted eyes close up against straight brows that lie directly beneath the frontlet, a long face Josephson aptly calls "horsy," and a pendulous lower lip.

So, then, the period of Amasis would seem to offer a number of different images of the king, both idealizing and more distinctive; all, however, can be characterized as exhibiting highly refined craftsmanship and a tendency toward an overwrought attention to certain details.[46]

In sum, after a possibly rather long period at the beginning of the dynasty whose stylistic direction is unclear, bronzes and stone together show that an image emerges

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[41] The eye / brow treatment is seen in some stone divine statues of the reign of Amasis; see Bothmer, *Bastis*, p. 57. This curling and attenuation of the lower lip relative to the upper seems to be caused by a depression under the lower lip. This is apparently the same stylistic device that Josephson describes as undercutting, see *Royal Sculpture*, figure 2 on page 5, though examples of the same sort of thing are discussed sometimes using rather different terminology throughout his text.

[42] The place of this bronze in the pattern of occurrences of such features since the New Kingdom (often in the Third Intermediate period and even still sporadically in relief and some bronzes in the Saite Period) is discussed by me in detail in "Aegis of Amasis," and the implications of this piece in understanding the place of bronzes in artistic networks are returned to below.

[43] The definitive presentation of this material is found in Kozloff and Bryan, *Dazzling Sun*.

[44] Josephson, "Late XXVI," p. 97 compares these portraits to ones of Akhenaten and refers to an impressionistic quality; in *Royal Sculpture*, p. 8, he refers to it as mannerism.

[45] To name a few characteristic Saite features, the long oblong face, the still fairly tilted eyes, very wide hair tabs, and strong facial modeling, all discussed by Josephson.

[46] While Jack Josephson's citation of the exaggerated portraits of Akhenaten is an apt one for the group of stone portraits he gathers, overall I think probably reference to the range of types of representation seen of Amenhotep III mentioned above is more telling. As images, some of his would not be recognizably close, were it not that we know the development of New Kingdom sculpture comparatively very well and that inscribed images are so very frequent. They all, however, have an effect of at least slightly unnatural beauty, partially due to the fact that consideration for aesthetic effects is sometimes overriding choices most conducive to a natural or habitual rendering, a tendency surely influenced in ways we cannot adequately grasp by religious or cultural currents of the time. While I do not think it is possible to speculate about such causes in the reign of Amasis, the highly conscious display of craftsmanship is evident and one can wonder whether and what sort of cultural currents might inform such artistic choices. I am grateful to Carrie Hill Wilner for her insights about this phenomenon.

with Necho II that seems to serve as a sort of dynastic substrate (slanted rather narrow eyes, slightly curved to curved mouth, and narrow chin). Already with Psamtik II, however, a more individual image may also be noted for each king.

Bronzes assigned to Dynasty 26

Several uninscribed royal kneeling bronzes can be identified that relate to or can be assigned to the first half of Dynasty 26.

The first to be discussed immediately underscores the inadequacies of political terminology for artistic periods in this complicated era. This king wears the white crown (LPPt-6; plate 54) without a uraeus and with small rounded ear tabs. He has a strong almost lined face, eyes with a strong vertical axis through the center and marked pupils, and plastic brows and eye rims. His torso shows broad muscular shoulders, generally clear bipartition, and level belt. His kilt is folded backwards, right over left, like LPPt-4 above. Leg modeling is well-marked. The king wears a finely incised broad collar with ties indicated in the back. His arms are separately cast and attached in a manner most frequently seen among bronzes in the Third Intermediate Period. In short, he has features that seem more strongly those of the Third Intermediate or Kushite Period, and perhaps his home is in the period of their overlap. His backward folded kilt, however, suggests to me that he is at least interesting to discuss in terms of this phenomenon which seems largely Saite.

Several bronzes show combinations of relatively early and relatively mid-Saite features that suggest these features in bronzes had rather more extended ranges than we know in stone statuary. These can be dated to a range from Psamtik I through even Psamtik II.

A king offering *nw* pots and wearing the red crown (LPPt-7; plate 55) has slanted eyes, one with pupil marked, in a small face with a very short chin which makes the face appear squarish rather than triangular. His mouth is very small and only slightly curved at the corners. He has very sharp slanted collar bones, a feature likewise found in private statuary of the reign of Psamtik I and later and considered typically Lower Egyptian by Edna Russmann, though those of the bronze are quite strongly and rather oddly curved in addition.[47] The modeling of his body shows the narrow central trough and the full pointed breasts known from well-dated early Dynasty 26 private figures as discussed above. He wears a wide very level belt beneath jutting hips, similar to the bronzes discussed as possibly dating to Psamtik I because they showed some features which could be considered near the Kushites.

The combination of features suggests a dating to the early part of Dynasty 26, though exactly how early is debatable. The statuette does not resemble other images of Psamtik I or even other bronzes assigned to his time above, but many factors might account for this: the length of his reign; northern and southern differences which are strong and obvious in private stone statuary of the time; other regional differences reflecting the political situation of the early part of Dynasty 26.

The red crown worn by the king is the first example of this feature seen so far

[47] Russmann, “Amenemope-em-hat,” p. 35 note 6; compare also *ESLP* nos. 20 and 29.

among the bronzes discussed, and is, in fact, a feature quite rare among bronzes, although not so rare as its non-existence among stone statues. The king carries his pots quite high like Third Intermediate Period and Kushite bronzes seen already. He also has rather childlike features and the very short leg profile noted above in the bronze statuette of Amasis (LPPt-15).

A king wearing the blue crown (LPPt-8; plate 56) has a triangular to oblong face. He has plastic brows and eye rims, but without cosmetic lines. The eyes are rather long and their slant certainly not very marked. His mouth is small and protrudes slightly in side view; the upper lip slightly thicker than the lower. The features in general fit well in the range of statues from the period of Psamtik I and Necho II, though the slightly occluded gaze created by the lengthened left eye rim is a bit disconcerting as it is generally atypical of Egyptian statuary.

The king's headgear is textured with the pattern of circles well known for the blue crown but not always shown.[48] The lack of a frontlet here is odd, and the tail of the uraeus is a very peculiar flat double-hatched version stretching back to the top of the head. The very large hood of the uraeus is not, however, out of place in early/mid dynasty 26,[49] nor, indeed, among these bronzes in general where the bodies of uraeus snakes also do not seem very standardized and tend to be rather wide.[50]

His torso has the high pointed breasts and central trough typical of some early Saite modeling. The curved belt-line first occurs early during the reign of Psamtik I, particularly in private statuary from the north, and is frequently found thereafter. It is typical of the bronzes of Necho datable by inscription.

The kilt with right flap folded over left is rare, but has been noted above on LPPt-4 dated to Necho II and on LPPt-6. Notably again the king wears a broad collar which, though not unattested among bronzes, is not definitely known to me after mid-Dynasty 26. He has no steamer hanging from the back of his blue crown, a feature almost *de rigeur* among bronzes in this crown from the end of the dynasty onward.

Two bronze kings present a very distinctive case (LPPt-9, -10; plate 57). They are very close to the Necho (LPPt-5) with the strongly curved profile, towering nemes and uraeus, and curved belt line. They are even closer to each other in size, details, and features. Both have arms supported by small props, a feature that is seen in many bronzes, often of somewhat more cursory working, and increasingly as time goes on. Both have small plates under their rear feet with almost illegible inscriptions, discussed further below. Both have kilts with the unusual right over left fold seen in LPPt-4. Such duality and such a close match for LPPt-5 is a bit unsettling in studies of ancient objects where so much is usually missing, but I see no reason to doubt the two pieces.

The prevalence of the right over left kilt fold in the last five pieces discussed is striking. Since four at least seem stylistically of roughly the same era, it is possible

[48] *ESLP* regarding no. 71 suggests the absence of circles might be a feature of blue crowns of the Saite Period, and the presence of circles might indicate the 4th century. However, the difference is more likely one of stone and bronze. See further the discussion of Achoris below.

[49] Compare LPPt-5, the Jacquemart André head of Psamtik II, or the Bologna head datable to Psamtik II or Apries.

[50] Compare LPPt-1 attributed above to Psamtik I and the fat tubular snake of LPPt-5.

that the right over left kilt fold dates these pieces to the period of Necho II. On the other hand, the rare kilt fold could be attributable to some other reason. It will be discussed further below.

One bronze is stylistically assignable to the period of Amasis or thereafter, and another has been attributed to the king by findspot.

The whereabouts of LPPt-17 (plate 62), a very fine piece from the Hoffmann Collection, are unknown. Its very level brows with the eyes close beneath and the long u-shaped face are very reminiscent of the group of stone heads attributed to Amasis discussed above. The slight curl given to the lower lip is similar to that seen on the bronze head of Amasis on the aegis (LPPt-16). Finally, the very clear lateral tripartition of the figure – breasts, rib cage, and abdomen – is classical for late dynasty 26 torso modeling.[51]

A bronze found in debris in a chapel of Amasis at Ein el-Muftella in the Bahriya Oasis (LPPt-18; plate 63) was attributed by the excavator Ahmed Fakhry to Amasis, and it may be that he is correct as the finds were rather restricted and seemingly from a short time range.[52] Unfortunately, the bronze is poorly illustrated and seems to be of poor quality in any case with a small head and sagging body. The long-faced version of Amasis may be intentionally suggested by the bronze.[53] Of interest is the costume worn by the bronze, apparently a sort of corselet marked by an incised line across the chest under the breasts.[54]

Lastly one bronze (LPPt-19; plate 64) excavated at Saqqara from the Sacred Animal Necropolis is generally datable to somewhere in the Late Period as it was buried under what is conjectured to be the foundation of a Late Period construction which was later completely demolished itself, and for which, therefore, the excavators can suggest no firm date. Still, the period of great growth and extensive building in this area focuses at the later 26th dynasty and especially the fourth century. This is a quite small kneeling king, wearing the nemes, with his hands palms downwards alongside his lap, a gesture of worship or adoration.[55] He has a single substantial

51 *ESLP*, p. xxxv, and Bothmer, "Hor," pl. 3A

52 The chapel in question was built by the governor of Bahriya Oasis during the time of Amasis, then walled up soon thereafter in Fakhry's estimate, and a few objects thrown out in front of the chapel. The objects as illustrated are consistent with a Late Dynastic date, and Fakhry notes that the area was otherwise rather clear. See Fakhry, *Bahriya* I, pp. 152–59 for the chapel and II, pp. 21–24 for the objects.

53 A small bronze in Hildesheim (cat. 139) of relatively good quality, its crown and eyes formerly inlaid, may represent Amasis for the same reasons.

54 Cats. 82 and 139 are other instances of this costume among bronzes, though cat. 82 also shows a neckline, but no sleeves. (Cat. 122 seems to show a v-neckline only; this bronze is, however, more likely to date to the Third Intermediate Period.) Cat. 139 has a longish narrow "hatchet" face, and both have very large uraei. But there are considerable differences among them so that it is difficult to argue any close coherence to the group. Leaving aside cat. 139, which seems to have been inlaid, they do not seem to be very distinguished pieces. It is at least possible straps might have been indicated by gilding. Corselets with straps are frequently worn by kings in relief from the Third Intermediate Period onward. A rapid survey of examples without straps reveals no clear pattern: a bronze plaque from Saqqara depicting Amun and generally dated to the Kushite Period, Fitzwilliam E.7.1969, p. 104 of Vassilika, *Fitzwilliam*; possibly in a scene of Psamtik III at Karnak (pl. 65 b, d of Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*); in a genre figure on a plaque from Memphis (in a relief style of uncertain chronological range, but certainly beginning by late in Amasis' reign) depicted in Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. 14; and then fairly regularly in Ptolemaic reliefs from Ptolemy V and on (Vassilika, *Philae*, pp. 272–3). The garment is worn by an odd private bronze discussed in Müller, *Eines ungewöhnliche Metallfigur*, and the garment further discussed on p. 10, where he notes it is often worn by Imhotep.

55 This will be discussed further in the chapter on role.

rectangular tang from beneath the underside of his shins. Nondescript as his features are, the statuette's rather round face could relate to LPPt-3, and the nemes has no frontlet, a type of stylization seen in that piece and a number of bronzes which probably date from Dynasty 26 and onward, some even reputedly from the Saqqara region.[56] Whenever this particular piece dates, the possible dynasty 26 examples may prefigure the more pronounced round-faced type I assign to the fourth century and onward.

56 For example, cat. 50.

PART II: POST-SAITE AND PTOLEMAIC PERIODS

Dynasty 27 through 31 (525–332 B.C.): Dated material

Dated stone statuary and evaluation of recent attributions

No known Egyptian-style statues are preserved of the kings of dynasty 27, though it is clear that a fine statuary tradition was maintained.[57] While the nature of the control exerted and the interest shown in Egypt itself by the Persian kings is not entirely clear, temple activity certainly continued and at least at Hibis Persian kings of Dynasty 27 were shown in relief in the roles of Egyptian kings.[58] It is almost certain that there are among the types I have identified as fourth century small uninscribed royal bronzes that date to the Persian Period, but, short of the emergence of precisely dated comparanda, they simply cannot be more closely categorized.[59] The same is, of course, true of the shorter Dynasty 31 and Macedonian Period.

Review of Jack Josephson's study

During dynasties 28–30 there was a considerable amount of stone royal statuary produced judging from the quantity of preserved named statuary with and without heads, and further reflected in the number of heads that seem stylistically to require consideration in this period. Putting aside the apparently stylistically anomalous sphinx heads of the Dynasty 29 kings, Jack Josephson's study proceeds to examine inscribed heads of Nectanebo I which on the one hand generally copy images of Apries by his analysis, but on the other hand may be differentiated from them by two particular stylistic characteristics that continue throughout the fourth century: a) suppression of facial modeling, and b) a schematic flat triangular area formed between the brows and the spring of the nose.[60] He notes c) prominent drill holes at the corners of the mouth as another characteristic of this style. Josephson further dif-

[57] For 27th dynasty private sculpture, see *ESLP*, pp. 67–84 (nos. 57–67); the latest version of Bothmer's views is given on p. 56 of his "Verism," but very few of these datings are sure although one presumes continuity has to have been maintained somehow. Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pp. 1–2 and pl. 1a and b, discusses with references the statue of Darius from Susa that may be of Egyptian manufacture and the Brooklyn piece possibly depicting a Dynasty 31 satrap.

[58] For some recent historical supplement to Kienitz, see Bianchi, "Perser in Ägypten," coll. 943–951, which provides the basic bibliography. Grimal, *History*, pp. 367–376 provides a recent juxtaposition of the major biographical/historical inscription of Udjahorresnet with the other historical material. Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, note 10, refers to recent work on Persian activities in Egypt. Finally, there is ongoing work on Persian Period habitation levels at ʿAyn Manawir near Douch in Kharga Oasis by a French team headed by Michel Wuttmann. The work, reported yearly in *BIFAO*, provides some insights into economic and temple activities, including production of very cursory bronze deity statues.

[59] Aubert, *Bronzes et or*, p. 360 refers to a bronze in the Michaelidis collection with the name of Seheribre Pedubaste III of Dynasty 27, but he may be talking about Pedise, TIP-15.

[60] Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, p. 26.

ferentiates three types among the few inscribed monuments of Nectanebo I, terming them “archaizing,” “heavy-faced,” and “mannered.”[61]

To Nectanebo II he attributes an “even more mannered” style with even flatter facial planes and narrower eyes, which is not represented by any named example but seems to him a logical development of the style of Nectanebo I. Furthermore, he feels this style can be to some degree bounded at the lower end by the emergence of a different, fleshier, style at least by the time of Ptolemy II, though it is important to note that the “fleshier” style is only one of the styles of Ptolemy II.[62]

Grouping and characterization of these types of representations based on careful first-hand observation and comprehensive presentation is a very important contribution, and the broad stylistic distinction between some 4th century and some early 3rd century royal sculpture seems valid and enlightening and can be used in relation to the bronzes. However, aspects of Josephson’s assignment of types to particular kings are more problematic, and, moreover, certain types are excluded altogether from his discussion. Two areas in particular require comment as they bear upon the bronzes discussed below.

The overwhelming association of Nectanebo II and the blue crown which emerges from Josephson’s study is odd since we do not normally know that kind of very specific choice of regalia except in the case of the Kushites. It would require some kind of programmatic explanation, and stands out as an area needing further inquiry.[63] Two directions of investigation suggest themselves. First, the inscribed Louvre head wearing the white crown which exemplifies his “mannered” representation of Nectanebo I does not actually seem to figure as a comparison for the pieces he assigns to Nectanebo I and then terms mannered.[64] This head deserves more consideration: its eyes are quite narrow, and its relationship to the “very mannered” group of heads in the blue crown that Josephson assigns a Nectanebo II date should be carefully examined and his reasons for differentiating the two types made more explicit. Secondly, there is inadequate consideration of the named torsos that exist; despite the vagaries of preservation from antiquity, which do not allow us to rely on there being any correlation between numbers of heads preserved and numbers of torsos for a particular king, such a survey at least provides another possible parameter.[65] A number of torsos exist of Nepherites and Achoris, for example, and on some the type of headgear can be ascertained or at least defined within a certain range: upright crowns were worn by the Boston granite torso of Achoris, and the torso of Achoris from Ahnas el-Medina, which is in the same unusual stone as the head apparently from the Mendes area that Josephson attributes to Nectanebo II, though Müller and

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61 Represented, respectively, by: a granodiorite bust from Hermopolis Parva in the Mansura storehouse, his pl. 2 a; a limestone statue from Hermopolis Magna in the yard at the Egyptian Museum, JE87298, his pl. 3c; a red granite head in the Louvre 27124 without provenance, his pl. 2d.

62 Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, especially pp. 27 and 43–44.

63 Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, p. 27.

64 Regarding the Louvre head, Josephson, *Royal Sculpture,* pp. 7 and 27; regarding the “mannered” heads of Nectanebo I, pp. 23–26.

65 It is for such reasons, and, of course, with the hope of establishing matches, that all parts of statues were collected by Bothmer for the *Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture* and taken into consideration by him. A. Leahy’s “Sculpture Review” of inscriptionally datable Saite material is a very good example of the “salutary,” as he says, results of tracking such material, even if they cannot be directly applied or must be overridden altogether.

others attributed it to Achoris.[66] Likewise, the British Museum torso of Nectanebo I wore an upright crown. One bronze to be discussed below representing Achoris or just possibly Nectanebo I wore the blue crown.

As a further procedural comment, it is not desirable to simply put aside some of the evidence relating to Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II, that is, the large and numerous sphinxes for the former and the small figures beneath the falcon for the latter.[67] The limestone sphinxes show a distinctive image of Nectanebo I with a heavy throat and a prominent and unusually curved upper lip; the same non-idealizing image is seen in a very large dark hard stone head of a sphinx on the art market, which, because of its material, is more difficult to dismiss as a non-specific image resulting from "mass-production" as Josephson proposes to do with the limestone sphinxes, though this is not to say it might not be an image belonging to a particular sphere.[68] As for the falcon statues of Nectanebo II, they were important statues apparently closely tied to a statue cult of Nectanebo II and provide the only images of the king datable by inscription; the king's faces are indeed small, but they are not negligible and warrant consideration as specific and significant like many small images created by the Egyptians, as, for example, many of the bronzes discussed throughout this study.[69] Nectanebo II under the falcon (plate 66) clearly has a much rounder face, a less drawn-up smile and rounder, more heavy-lidded, eyes than the blue-crown images Josephson assigns to this pharaoh.

Inscriptionally dated bronzes

To the above 4th century images in stone can be added the bronze mentioned above which has long been attributed to Achoris (LPPt-20; plate 65). The dating was based on the stylistic evaluation of the figure, combined with evidence from the unreadable cartouche inscribed on the belt. First, as to the cartouche, it is clear there are three signs, all fairly compact. The name therefore must be pre-Ptolemaic and does not fit any Persian ruler nor is it an obvious fit for any of the ephemeral native rulers of the period. While Saite names would be possible, with other criteria that point to a date for this piece in the post-Saite period, to be discussed, the only possibilities are *H̱nm-mꜣʿt-Rʿ* (Achoris) or *H̯pr-kꜣ-Rʿ* (Nectanebo I). The proportions of the former

[66] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 838; Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pl. 7b, pp. 3, 18, 28; his notes 132 and 133 give other bibliography. Grimm, "Hakoris," points out the similarity of the stone between torso and head. Indeed, the exuberant shape of the headgear on this piece – though I fully agree that both headgear shapes and uraei are by no means reliable as chronological markers in these late eclectic periods – and the subdued mouth itself do not fit smoothly into the "Nectanebo II" group. Traunecker's studies of the 29th dynasty and of its works at Thebes demonstrate the conceptual vitality and the significance of the works undertaken by the dynasty; see Traunecker, "XXIX," and *Achôris*.

[67] Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pp. 8–9 and 30; for illustration of several sphinxes and references see Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pl. 82 and nearby images; for a summary discussion of the falcon images and references to the basic studies and illustrations, see Brooklyn Museum of Art, *Cleopatra*, pp. 94–6 and also further below.

[68] Royal Athena, New York 1999 volume 10, dealer's catalog, lot 183. See also Mantova, Museo Civico di Palazzo Te inv. 439, basalt?, h. 36.5 cm. illustrated on p. 165 of *Il senso*, dated there to Dynasty 26. See now also Z. Hawass, *Bibliotheca Alexandrina: The Archaeology Museum* (2002), p. 112.

[69] The most complete after Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 34.2.1 was recently purchased by Munich, and is illustrated in Christie's London, December 1995, sale catalog, lot 101. Other photos, not too clear but offering some details, are found in the original publication of the piece: Tresson, "Deux monuments." The king's face is damaged somewhat, but can be seen to be round and rather wide-eyed.

name are slightly better suited to the traces of the signs.

For the stylistic evaluation, there are several points to be made, of greater and lesser strength. The face of the king is not clearly related to any known face: it is broad, with natural brows, level, symmetrical, and wide-open eyes with symmetrical upper and lower lids set off from the eyeball, a very slightly smiling mouth with marked furrows down from the corners, and a round chin. The profile is rather flat, the forehead is fat or lumpy beneath the crown which seems a bit small, and the chin is definitely a double chin. It is not at all similar to any of the Saite images with their generally clear contours (although, of course, Psamtik I remains something of a cipher and singular realistic relief images of Psamtik I and Necho II/Psamtik II have been cited), and its fleshiness and general appearance are not at all related to the Third Intermediate Period.

Most chronologically suggestive are a number of stylistic points, of which the chief is the modeling of the king's torso: it is tripartite, but very definitely the post-Persian version of tripartite, with soft teardrop abdomen around the navel and suppressed modeling throughout the shoulder and breast area in particular so that this area appears rather long, and very soft and fleshy without underlying bone structure. This kind of modeling is a sort of variant of the tripartition with bipartition which was recognized and well-defined in both royal and private statuary by Bothmer and distinguished from the more simply horizontal tripartite modeling of the late 26th dynasty; it is found in torsos of Achoris and also in a torso of Nectanebo I, and alongside the more clearly marked form of compound tripartite and bipartite modeling which is richly developed in the Louvre torso of Nectanebo I.[70] Though obscured by corrosion it seems that there is a slight indication of sharply slanted clavicles near the neck as is seen in certainly the Boston and Alexandria torsos of Achoris. One detail should be kept in mind for comparative purposes, that is, the attractive way in which the steeper arc of the upper contour of the king's belt forms a shallow curve beneath his soft stomach, while the lower contour remains relatively flat. This detail is seen in two bronzes that also have the peculiar streamer and that are discussed below (LPPt-22 and LPPt-23).[71]

The highly peculiar pendant element behind the crown is termed a streamer by comparison to both earlier (e.g. Amasis on the censer) and later (e.g. Ptolemaic examples discussed below) bronzes which show a different form, but one quite clearly intended to be understood as a streamer. Here the streamer projects horizontally outward from the back of the neck, then at the appropriate distance makes a rounded corner to run vertically, rejoining the surface of the back; a large separation is thus left from the neckline to the top of the backbone. The streamer runs continuously from neckline to waistline. The streamer and the disks on the crown of the figure are

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[70] For examples of this type of modeling with the long soft and fleshy shoulder and breast area, see the Dattari statue, Brooklyn Museum of Art acc. no. 52.89, *ESLP* no. 80, p. 100. Similar modeling may be seen in the torso of Nectanebo I in the British Museum which is well-illustrated alongside the magnificent Louvre torso 25491 of the same king combining bipartition and tripartition in Aldred, *Crépuscule*, p. 157. The latter is also well illustrated among major torso modeling types in Bothmer, "Hor," pl. 3 no. 3.

[71] Similar treatment is seen in the Hermopolis torso of Nectanebo I (Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pl. 2a), though perhaps less marked because the figures are not kneeling. Well-dated Saite royal bronzes do not show this detailing of the feature; analysis of comparative stone Saite material is difficult given the vagaries of preservation and the different clothing styles of many private figures in that period.

cited by Bothmer as features that can be probably be considered post-Persian. The former is probably true – a streamer of this form is certainly not found among any of the bronzes dated or attributable to Dynasty 26. Moreover, this particular form seems to be limited, since, as will be discussed, something clearly derivative of this type with its odd separation at the neck, but different, evolves by certainly at least the 3rd century. As for the discs on the crown, Bothmer's suggestion is not too compelling since earlier examples certainly existed and could always influence style. It seems to me much more likely that they in fact never really disappeared completely from usage in the Saite period (there is, in fact, very little evidence one way or the other for the Third Intermediate Period), though they may have fallen out of fashion for the fine smoothly polished surfaces of stone representations of the blue crown favored during that period; based on my review of bronzes, they continued to appear on metal statuary throughout (cf. LPPt-8 discussed above).[72]

One iconographic point that might seem to reinforce an attribution to Achoris may be adduced. Close examination reveals that the trajectory of the king's right forearm is preserved, and that it was raised from the horizontal at about a twenty degree angle and turned inward at about a thirty degree angle so that, if the left arm were also directed in this manner, the arms would have met or almost met in front of the body.[73] *Maat* and *wedjat* are the offerings held in arms angled toward the center of the body, the offering in the left hand and the right hand curved protectively behind the offering. If this king is Achoris and held *maat*, the offering would nicely reiterate the name in his belt.

On the whole, I think the dating to Achoris in particular is quite strong on a number of grounds. The non-idealizing features of the face do not disturb me; indeed, I think there are other hints that a not traditionally idealizing strain exists in 4th century royal representation.[74] This will be discussed further.

A second royal bronze datable to the fourth century comes from the Falcon Catacomb at the Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis and bears the cartouches of Nectanebo II as read by the excavator (LPPt-21; plate 67). The bronze must have fit into other metal or wooden elements which formed the lower part of the figure. The piece is highly corroded and difficult to read. It is clear that the king's face is very round to square and is flat or frontal. His eyes are rather round, and were inlaid; the brows and eyes have long cosmetic lines; the mouth appears to be flat and unsmiling, with rather wide lips. On the whole, the image is most similar to the stone statue of the king beneath the falcon discussed above.

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[72] An earlier example is, of course, the Turin Ramesses II. The discs do appear in stone statuary in the fourth century to Ptolemaic period, for example see the statue attributed to Nectanebo II (?) by Jack Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pl. 11 c.

[73] I am very grateful to Robert Cohon, Curator of Ancient Art at the Nelson-Atkins Museum, for his precise examination of this statue.

[74] There are, of course, occurrences of private "realistic" sculpture known at the end of dynasty 26 /27 and the strain maintained some kind of continuous profile thereafter (see the history of realism/verism in this period as envisioned by Bothmer, "Verism"), though its sources and course are not at all clear; evidence of non-idealizing *royal* images, whatever their ideological or religious sources, besides this bronze and another noted below might include the sphinxes of Nectanebo I discussed above.

The Ptolemaic Period (332–30 B.C.)

Dated statuary and evaluation of recent attributions and stylistic studies

Inscriptionally dated sculptural representations of the Ptolemaic kings are very rare. However, dating and understanding of a stylistic evolution of sculpture of the Ptolemaic era has been much advanced recently by R. R. R. Smith's important demonstration that, besides the Hellenistic-style portraits of the Ptolemies theoretically recognizable by comparison with the information of coin portraits and sealings, hard-stone and other more traditional Egyptian workshops sometimes incorporated into royal Egyptian style sculpture Hellenistic elements specifying "Ptolemy" and, indeed, might go so far as produce an Egyptian version of "a defined portrait model that specified *which* [my italics] Ptolemy."[75] Paul Stanwick's exhaustive work has expanded the identifications of these Ptolemaic representations, particularly those created in what appears to be completely Egyptian style, while Jack Josephson has given close attention especially to the early Ptolemaic representations of the king in what he has termed a "classicizing" style.

Classicizing refers to a general imitation of the Egyptian royal image of Dynasty 30, and incorporates features such as the triangular flat area over the nose and the suppression of facial modeling.[76] As an ancillary point, these Ptolemaic images may also create a sort of curling appearance to the lower lip by either actually undercutting it or by shortening it in relation to the upper.

Josephson has pointed out features in one of the two inscribed representations of Ptolemy II that seem to point to the emergence of a different style in sculpture already during his reign, a style marked by greater fleshiness, more open eyes, and less schematic brows and has identified other pieces in this transitional style.[77] It has similarly long been apparent in two-dimensional art by comparison of reliefs of the Dynasty 30 kings and the first three Ptolemies at the Iseum at Behbeit el Hagar and elsewhere that a similar classicizing momentum lasted perhaps into the time of Ptolemy III but certainly then began to change.[78]

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75 R.R.R. Smith, "Ptolemaic Portraits," p. 210.

76 From the classicizing period the only inscriptionally dated statues with intact faces are two of Ptolemy II: Rome, Museo Gregoriano Egizio E27 and Strasbourg, 1585, both illustrated in Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pl. 13 c, d. Discussions of the classicizing image are to be found in: Paul Stanwick, "Metropolitan;" Jack Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, especially pp. 41ff.; Jack Josephson, "A Fragmentary Egyptian Head from Heliopolis," *MMJ* 30 (1995) 5–15. According to Josephson, the undercutting is first seen with Nectanebo II, see *Royal Sculpture*, p. 28; I suspect it is actually seen earlier, note the discussion of LPPt-16 above.

77 Josephson, *Royal Sculpture*, pp. 44–5

78 The style of Nectanebo II and Ptolemy II is very close as has been frequently noted by those who have examined the relief of the period: Steindorff, "Reliefs," esp. p. 58; Bothmer, "Ptolemaic Reliefs III," esp. p. 5. Favard-Meeks, *Behbeit el-Hagara*, the major reconstitution study of the Iseum, makes it possible to place many of the blocks in various collections, but largely through typologies and organizational clues (summarized on her pp. 300–301 with references to the relevant sections of the book describing the decoration in detail: Nectanebo II built most but decorated only the regeneration/rebirth chapel of Osiris-*ḥmꜣg*; Ptolemy II completed decoration of the sanctuary and chapels, and Ptolemy III added a hypostyle and western façade). Eventually more refined differentiations of style may become possible in part based on her work, but her work does confirm that with Ptolemy III a stylistic change is perceptible (*Behbeit el-Hagara*, p. 336): ". . . le style perd de son finesse et de son élégance. La gravure des signes hiéroglyphiques est beaucoup moins soignée qu'auparavant. Il en est ainsi des cartouches de la frise où

Paul Stanwick's work has established a chronological framework and groupings of attributions that cover the entire Ptolemaic Period.[79] From this perspective, he identifies an early "idealizing" period that incorporates these "classicizing" images and others that relate strongly to them, suggesting a 3rd century locus for the idealizing period. Thereafter he identifies other types that may be seen to be more closely correlated to Hellenistic images of the kings than was the case in the classicizing or idealizing period: youthful, lean-faced images that synchronize with Ptolemies V and VI, a group focused on the physkon images of Ptolemy VIII, another physkon group distinguishable by facial hair and frowns relating to Ptolemies IX and X, a group with oval to round faces and lean bodies that he associates mainly with Ptolemy XII and a group around Cleopatra and her sons.

There are no known inscribed Egyptian royal bronzes from the Ptolemaic period. Two bronzes from temple deposits (LPPt-25, -36) can be assigned to the period based on a combination of archaeological and stylistic evidence, and a few others can be assigned by stylistic/iconographic clues relating to stone statuary. Other bronzes can be attributed to fairly restricted periods by certain iconographic or stylistic patterns largely interior to the bronze corpus itself. While some correlations can be seen with Stanwick's idealizing stone type, no bronze shows any very close correlation to the post-idealizing types, though comparison will be suggested to particular dated images where appropriate.

Bronzes attributable to the Ptolemaic Period are discussed below in conjunction with those attributable to the fourth century pharaonic dynasties, from which they descend and from which in the earliest periods they are scarcely distinguishable. I have discussed these matters with Paul Stanwick whose remarks were very helpful, and are referred to below in the appropriate places.

Bronzes assignable to Dynasties 28–30 and the Ptolemaic Period

Bronzes that can be assigned to a relatively narrow date range

A small headless kneeling bronze with a streamer reaching from neck to belt (LPPt-22) was excavated recently at Tanis, in a pit in the forecourt of the Amun temple where damaged materials from the temple seem to have been thrown out. The pit contained Third Intermediate Period pottery, a few pieces which might be Saite but whose parameters seem rather unclear, and pottery clearly belonging to the fifth-fourth centuries. The drawing of the piece seems to show the same fleshy torso and belt stylization as the one I have assigned above to Achoris.

LPPt-23 (plate 68) is a very impressive kneeling king wearing the blue crown again with a long thick "streamer" like that of Achoris down his back. The blue crown is a high form with an arched rib on the side. The king's face is rectangular with a small knobby chin and heavy underchin. Natural fairly level brows run above rather large level eyes with plastically modeled upper and lower rims. His nose is

la pierre semble à peine entamée."

[79] Stanwick, *Royal Ptolemaic*, pp. 185–327; now see *Portraits*, pp. 54–64 and *passim*, although not employing the same terminology.

sharp and thin with a marked tip and well-formed nostrils. The mouth is thin-lipped, small and level.

The king's tubular neck enters the flat area created between his shoulder edge and strongly marked diagonal clavicles with a gap at the sternum. The torso shows fairly marked bipartition at the same time as pectorals, rib cage, and abdomen are separately modeled. His pectorals are quite high, a fact accentuated by the nipples placed very centrally. Below gently swelling hips, the lower edge of his narrow but plastic belt sits quite level, but the upper edge forms a very gradual controlled curve over its distance, emphasizing the fleshiness of the abdomen exactly as the Achoris discussed above. The torso modeling is somewhat odd and vaguely reminiscent of early Dynasty 26 "northern" modeling with its slanting clavicles and central trough, although here it also displays elements of tripartition, a mixture characteristic of the fourth century.[80] The overall appearance of the piece, the belt, and the form of the streamer all indicate the piece belongs to the post-Saite period/fourth century.[81]

A large striding bronze holding a *shen* ring (LPPt-24; plate 69) strongly suggests comparison to the stone images of Nectanebo I that Josephson terms archaizing and heavy faced, and somewhat less to the image of Nectanebo II under the falcon.[82] As images of Nectanebo I recall sculpture of Apries, the bronze's fleshy oblong face somewhat recalls that of Apries as seen for example in the bronze LPPt-12. However, the extremely wide spacing of the eyes and the full wide curve of the thick mouth, here given extraordinary emphasis, point to the stylization practiced by the later king. The fact that some relationship is also visible to the wide, rather sleepy-eyed, round-faced versions of Nectanebo II under the falcon, perhaps suggests something about the relationship between images of those two kings. The elongated torso with its long soft shoulder and pectoral region fits the 30th Dynasty also.

Two bronzes can be dated fairly surely to the early Ptolemaic Period. The first (LPPt-25; plate 70) was part of a find of temple material made at Tukh el-Qaramus in the Egyptian Delta, a find with an accepted date in the early Ptolemaic Period. The bronze is described as an end-piece for a piece of cult equipment, and consists of a king's head in a nemes mounted on an aegis. Below a nemes inlaid with gold stripes, the king's face is broad and squarish to round, with a delicate natural brow, the triangular brow-nose intersection noted by Josephson, rather narrow eyes with short pointed extensions, a fairly broad nose, and a small delicate mouth with slightly protruding lips that seem to be pressed together.

The second (LPPt-26; plate 71) is only a head from what was originally quite a large black bronze. It has the single-arc brow line and a generally highly idealized appearance that is found for kings of the fourth century at least through Ptolemy II; however, compared to the fourth century kings, his eyes are somewhat wider, his cheeks more pronounced and rounded, his lips thicker and his mouth flatter though still slightly smiling. The head has been suggested to represent Ptolemy II by Paul Stanwick because of its close affinities to the Vatican statue of that king, and dated

[80] Perdu, "Un monument," pp. 123–124 discusses the modeling, similar in several points, of a headless statue of a Bubastite official Pairkap which he dates to dynasty 29.

[81] A number of other bronzes, some very small, have the same type of streamers and should date to the fifth-fourth century (cat. 47, 116, 239?).

[82] His plates 2a and 3b.

to the early Ptolemaic Period by John Cooney.[83]

Several features of the head should be noted for reference as the discussion proceeds. First, as is well-known, the reduced form of the uraeus, whether referring to the very small loops at either side or the flattened and narrowed uraeus hood poorly differentiated from the snake body, is something frequently, though by no means always, seen in the Ptolemaic period.[84] Secondly, speculation about the original nature of the crown, which has been described as both the white and the red crown and could even be construed as a blue crown, is unwise since technological examination shows evidence of damage and reworking in the crown area. Thirdly, in place of the broad flat "streamer" seen on the apparent fourth century blue crowns discussed above, from the rear edge of the crown of this head depends a band divided into three sections, which immediately below its origin rises from the surface of the neck to form a small sort of loop, though there is no longer and it is not clear that there ever was an actual void beneath, then returns to the surface of the neck before the bronze is broken away. This is certainly a streamer, but one which adheres much more closely to the neck and body profile than the thick streamers of Achoris (LPPt-20), LPPt-22, or LPPt-23, and, moreover, one with tripartite division.[85]

A third bronze (LPPt-27; plate 72) certainly belongs in the second century. The nemes has a thick rolled frontlet and rather dense woolly quality to the striping over its fairly low dome, giving it a textural quality like that imparted by the frilling and dense pleating of the kilt. The frontlet is quite straight and low over the brows unlike those of fourth century kings illustrated by Josephson, has small ear tabs, and a small bow-tie uraeus like those generally considered Ptolemaic. The king's face is very striking and unusual. It is rather long with a prominent rounded chin. The brows seem to be independent arcs, the eyes are narrow (the left one seems slightly damaged) and in hollowed areas delimited by ridges on the cheeks. The mouth is unusually wide, and the lips are full and sensually curved. The statuette's body modeling is quite amazing, even florid. The torso is very thickly muscled, with a basic tripartite structure (long shoulder region leading into low very fleshy breasts, a deep firm rib cage, and then a strongly modeled abdominal region) combined with bipartition (slight depression down the middle of the chest, and abdominal mound seeming to arise from the central chest), firm low curved hips and a long low slung belt.

The characteristics of the king's face are unlike classicizing models, and bear some resemblance to images of Ptolemy VI Philometor and to other sculptures

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83 Stanwick, "Metropolitan;" Cooney, "Gallatin," p. 17 no. 91.

84 For a reduced Ptolemaic uraeus see Brooklyn Museum of Art, *Cleopatra*, p. 147 showing a partly Hellenizing pharaonic image or pp. 82–3 showing a sculptor's model. The uraeus on the head of Amasis on the aegis (LPPt-16) has the same perfect loops and reduced hood though at a larger scale that those commonly considered Ptolemaic, and it seems likely though not provable because of damage that a number of stone heads of late dynasty 26 and dynasty 30 followed this pattern.

85 In relief, three part streamers are seen fairly frequently, though there may be an increased fondness in later periods. For some examples, see Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 214 illustrating an earlier relief of Ramesses II in the blue crown with a triple streamer from the second court of the Ramesseum, east wall, and pl. 216 illustrating a relief depicting Herihor in a cap crown with triple streamer from Karnak, Khonsu Temple, first court, terrace, east wall. They are also found in Dynasty 29 (Traunecker, *Achôris*, and in Dynasty 30 in the time of Nectanebo II, e.g. Daumas, *Mammisis*, pl. 32. They definitely occur in the Ptolemaic Period; see, for example, Vassilika, *Philae*, pl. 21B showing Ptolemy II and elsewhere, and Chassinat, *Dendera* III, pl. 221 and passim.

in Stanwick's group B.[86] The particularly emphatic version of the bipartition plus tripartition torso modeling style is close to that represented by the Cleveland statue of general Amunpeyom, who had been dated on what seemed good grounds to the (possibly late) reign of Ptolemy II, although recently a return to a previous dating for Amunpeyom in the late second century has been cogently argued.[87] A colossal royal example of this exuberant torso modeling style has recently been recovered from Alexandria harbor and suggested on stylistic grounds to date to Ptolemy VIII, and for iconographic reasons to date to the later part of the second century.[88]

Certainly the king represents a very fine example of the post-classicizing, post-idealizing style, of the second century, with parallels in sculptures of Ptolemy VI–VIII, 180–116.

A small striding bronze king (LPPt-28; plate 73) shows mixed Egyptian and Roman regalia and, therefore, can be dated on an iconographic basis to the very late Ptolemaic Period, that is, to the time of Cleopatra VII and her children with Caesar and Mark Antony, or just possibly to a later Roman ruling as pharaoh – that is, to the time when mixed regalia like that found on the figure would have meaning. The king seems to wears a cap crown with the uraeus, but about his torso he wears a long thin shawl-like element which is draped like the Roman toga. In his right hand he carries an odd conical form from which projects a rod like element at right angles. Roeder identified this as a key, but it might also be some version of the Roman *fasces*, the bundle of sticks with an axe traditionally carried in front of consuls and other high Roman officials and therefore a symbol of high Roman office.[89]

The figure has a largish head on a short neck above a flaccid torso, perhaps meant to be childish. The large rounded eyes that show a small extension where they droop toward the outer corner fit well in the late Hellenistic to Roman Period. The overall face with its small grim mouth is likewise comparable to both the head KS 1803 in Bologna and the statue Brooklyn 54.117, both usually attributed to Caesarion.[90] Likewise the bronze shows a type of decorative uraeus that is seen on some late pieces, with a very wide short body rising between two small loops, the small head of the uraeus formed as a continuous curve directly out of the body.

One kneeling king (LPPt-29; plate 74) wears a related type of uraeus in com-

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[86] This is a revision of the views in my dissertation, which may have influenced Stanwick's dating (*Portraits*, p. 105 A 42, 4th–3rd century). His figs. 52–53 illustrate the two well-known images of Philometor from Aegina and from the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, both also illustrated in Smith, *Hellenistic*, as his cat. 71 and 72 on pl. 46. Stanwick's group B is covered on pp. 69–71, and includes images generally comparable to the bronze such as the Yale bust (New Haven, University Art Gallery 1.1.1953, his B15.

[87] Amunpeyom, Cleveland Museum of Art acc. no. 48.141; *ESLP* pp. 122–125 and pl. 92; Brooklyn Museum of Art, *Cleopatra*, pp. 118–9. A return to the later dating for Amunpeyom is argued by Berman, *Cleveland Catalogue*, pp. 460–463, adducing philological arguments by Ranke and Yoyotte.

[88] For views, see particularly the cover photo and photograph on p. 314 of *Gloire d'Alexandrie*; there the piece with the related much damaged head is dated to the 3rd century, perhaps Ptolemy II (p. 103). However, Stanwick, *Portraits*, pp. 73–74 (his C22) more convincingly relates it to Ptolemy VIII. British scholars connected with the major Cleopatra exhibition feel for iconographic reasons that the statue, which belongs with a group of five colossal rulers, dates to the late second century B.C. (dates 116–87 B.C.?, in Walker, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, p. 58 no. 24a, entry by Sally-Ann Ashton).

[89] A brief note on bronze kneeling kings of the Roman Period is appended at the end of this chapter, where footnotes provide some insight into Roman Egyptianizing types that hold some unusual items.

[90] Stanwick, *Portraits*, p. 61, his E15 and E16.

bination with a rather squashed blue crown whose frontlet curves markedly over the forehead in a way not so far seen. The king has a grim face and mouth that fit better post-idealizing images of the Ptolemies.[91] The torso modeling, particularly the strongly marked ridges slanting under the ribs, is very pronounced. The piece bears further study, but is significant as probably a relatively late Ptolemaic example of a kneeling king of significant size.

Lastly, LPPt-30 (plate 75) should be mentioned. This large bronze statuette depicts a bearded worn king wearing a very peculiarly stylized headdress that may be meant to suggest the eagle, or possibly elephant, or even the lion headdress worn by various Ptolemies.[92] Small circles are also visible over certain areas of the head in the interstices between the nemes-like elements of the headdress, as though the king wears a cap crown beneath. He may also wear a sort of shirt. One horizontally-turned fist is held out in front of his body. The facial hair points to a late second century B.C. or later date.[93] Iconographic and historical studies might make it possible to assign this king to a better date in the later Ptolemaic or Roman periods.

An extended framework for Fourth century-Ptolemaic bronze types

The foregoing are the pieces which can be firmly ascribed to the fourth century or Ptolemaic kings based on inscriptions and stylistic and iconographic points that relate, however distantly, to stone statuary. Further examination, however, shows that a number of less obviously related pieces may be given suggested datings in the period. In some cases, this can be based on rather distant relations to dated stone types, but, moreover, and, more significantly, the framework can be extended independently of stone statuary by relating some bronzes on the basis of iconographic details and the like to more specifically dated bronzes.

Heavy-faced type

One bronze (LPPt-31; plate 76) seems likely to date somewhere in the fourth century – early Ptolemaic Period, perhaps more likely Dynasty 30. It is well-made and carefully modeled, with natural brows and eyes, a round unmodeled face, and a slight smile on a mouth with a broad upper lip and smaller slightly curled lower lip. The king's body is softly modeled over a narrow curving belt, and he wears a broad collar which has not been noted since mid-Dynasty 26 but is known among bronzes

[91] I am grateful to Paul Stanwick for calling this piece to my attention. Compare the crown to small silver kings cat. 218 and 286 whose exuberant features can be compared to LPPt-35, dated below to the Ptolemaic Period.

[92] Example of sealings showing figures believed to be Ptolemy IX in an eagle headdress and IX or X in an elephant headdress may be seen in figs. 234 and 239 of Stanwick, *Portraits*; the first sealing is shown again as no. 64 and another sealing showing a figure believed to be Ptolemy IX or XII in a lion's cap as no. 65 on p. 81 of Walker, *Cleopatra of Egypt*.

[93] Facial hair is indicated below the sideburns on the Aegina Ptolemy VI, but more extensive facial hair is found in a sculpture usually dated to Ptolemy IX, and on a sculpture assigned by Stanwick to the period of Cleopatra. See Stanwick, *Portraits*, D12 and E20, and for evidence also from Greek style representations and sealings see his discussion of dated sculptures of the second and first centuries pp. 56–61. See Bothmer, "Hellenistic Elements," pp. 215–230 for a broader discussion of the appearance of facial hair in the Ptolemaic Period.

of the Ptolemaic Period.[94] His arms and hands are very attentively formed, muscled and curved in a very realistic way. Without offering any very strongly diagnostic features, the king's broad face, widely placed eyes, and stylized smile do not seem to fit well with among the more-focused eyes, longer and more oblong faces of Dynasty 26, but rather resemble the broad faced smiling images sometimes seen of Nectanebo I, Nectanebo II under the falcon and in the Saqqara falcon statuette, and Ptolemy II.[95] This type may be one ancestor of certain statuettes with a generalized round face and round eyes, usually of only passable quality, which are sometimes seen and briefly alluded to again below in the discussion of types with large eyes and exuberant features.[96]

Fleshy faces are a motif of statuary of the Ptolemaic Period, and markedly heavy faces definitely occur among stone statuary connected particularly with Ptolemy VIII, Physkon, noted for his overweight image, and with his sons.[97] Other heavy faces among the bronzes might relate more directly to these particular Ptolemaic tendencies.[98]

A type related to the classicizing/idealizing image and a bronze secondarily associated

Two standing bronzes (LPPt-32 and 33, the latter on plate 77) are very similar to one another. Each has a type of short streamer which juts out just at the neckline to form a loop like that seen so far only on the Ptolemaic head discussed above (LPPt-26), though at least the streamer of LPPt-33 lacks the tripartite division seen on LPPt-26.[99] The faces of both are very square to rounded, with brows in a single arc, level eyes, sharp straight noses, and tense curved smiles. Tubular necks join broad sloping shoulders over an unmodeled, thick – both laterally and front to back – torso above a narrow even belt which dips in front. The facial type is related to that described above as Ptolemaic classicizing or idealizing for which Stanwick suggests a locus in the 3rd century, but the structural conventions for such faces are here rather rigidified. This type of torso could bear some derivative relation to the thickened torsos such as that of Amunpeyom discussed above. In the absence of other evidence it's not possible to suggest a more precise date: the pieces relate to but could well postdate the early classicizing/idealizing style in stone sculpture and represent the possibility of the continuance of some version of this satisfyingly idealized style in temple and

[94] A broad collar was seen on LPPt-6 and -8 which I assigned to early/mid-Dynasty 26. Broad collars do appear occasionally among other bronzes that seem to be later than mid-Dynasty 26 and some quite possibly Ptolemaic (e.g. cat. 86, 253, 289, and 290), and it is only in stone statuary that they seem to be strictly eschewed.

[95] Cat. 207 seems to me a possible relatively early second example of this style, with his large roundish eyes, thicker upper lip, and heavy underchin seen in profile.

[96] Cat. 86, 111, 259, and 289.

[97] See Stanwick, *Portraits*, pp. 71–74 and his groups C and D.

[98] E.g. cat. 290.

[99] Cat. 67, a king whose face is abraded away but who has the broad shoulders and nipped waist of LPPt-35 dated below to the Ptolemaic Period, and a streamer like LPPt-33 and presumably LPPt-32, belongs to the Tell Gumaiyima archaeological find (I am grateful to Claudia Farias for tracing this piece to its present whereabouts for me). Given the state of the statuette, the find is mainly significant for the question of role of these small kings. However it is to the point here that the find was dated by Griffith to the early Ptolemaic Period (see catalog entry), and could well even be somewhat later on the basis simply of the shrine finds.

ritual statuary.[100]

The similarity of these two bronzes is so close as to seem intentional, and, moreover, two very similar figures of Isis and Nephthys can be identified as probably having accompanied them.[101] This evidence suggesting an original grouping will be discussed again below. Also notable here for the first time in the discussion, but often among the examples discussed hereafter, are small integral platform bases, which seem to occur particularly among bronze kings that can be considered late.[102]

Another standing bronze (LPPt-34; plate 78) wears a cap crown of ovoid form over a rather small round face with features that are also small in the face: narrow eyes, straight nose and a small but rather pretty mouth. His broad sloping shoulders and thick trunk are similar to the previous two bronzes. The slightly inflated upwardly-tending form of the cap crown is like those seen occasionally in Ptolemaic reliefs and unlike those in previous periods, which were either swollen in back or conformed closely to a rounded skull.[103] The small precise features and rather thick body relate him to the bronzes just discussed. Paul Stanwick suggests that the rather childish cast of the features might in fact be meant to represent one of the Ptolemies who reigned as and was represented as a youth, that is, Ptolemy V, VI or Caesarion, though the resemblance to images ascribed to those kings would be only typological and not at all in appearance.[104] Alternatively the rather rosebud-style mouth might be related to that seen in the *physkon* sculptures dated to Ptolemy VIII.[105]

Types with exuberant features and large eyes

Two other general types can be ascribed to the Ptolemaic era. The first is represented by LPPt-35 (plate 79) which can be suggested to postdate Achoris and probably to be assigned to the Ptolemaic era on the basis of the particular (short and tripartite) form

[100] There seems even to be a late Ptolemaic revival in stone statuary of the earlier classicizing style, see Bothmer, "Hellenistic Elements," fig. 17. Likewise, the faces of the silver divine statuary buried at Dendera (see Cauville, "Les statues cultuelles," pls. 16 and 18–19) where the deposits seem in general to contain material of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods (see p. 138 in Shore, "Votive Objects from Dendera") are similar to the goddesses associated with these bronze kings (see next note). The difficulty of dating idealizing private depictions ("eggheads") is a similar problem.

[101] Elisabeth Delange kindly called to my attention a probable association between the Louvre king and a statuette of Isis in the Louvre. Catharine Roehrig then pursued the matter further for me when she visited Leiden and ascertained that it was stylistically and historically possible that the Leiden king might have been paired with a Nephthys I had identified in that collection.

[102] Examples with integral bases which have the earliest fairly precise date are small kings with the long streamer running from neckline to waist (e.g. cat. 116), though such small integral bases certainly appeared much earlier among amuletic and even relatively large statuettes of gods.

[103] Besides bronzes which may imitate Kushite prototypes (see the discussion in the Kushite chapter) such crowns are seen infrequently during the Late Period on bronzes (though LPPt-28 wears a cap crown), unless one turns to very small bronzes, or the class of bronzes I associate with animal manifestations of the gods, or to cap crowns of the child Horus or Ihy and the like. Cap crowns may be seen in reliefs at Dendera, Chassinat, *Dendera* I, pls. XLIX, L, LXXXI. See Vassilika, *Philae*, forms WC1–9, pp. 311–312 for examples of the actual cap crown at Philae, and p. 93 for brief discussion where she notes that differentiation between cap crown and a cap wig is usually not clear at Philae, though the presence of streamers points to the crown in her judgement.

[104] In conversation. Important images of the type are a generally agreed Ptolemy V in Berlin 13457, Ptolemy VI in Alexandria 3357, and the likely Caesarions Bologna KS 1803 and Brooklyn 54.117. See now Stanwick, *Portraits*, esp. pp 61 and 81 with references to the relevant pieces in his corpus and to other literature discussing these identifications.

[105] The suggestion is Paul Stanwick's; the main image of the type is Brussels E1839; see now Stanwick, *Portraits*, p. 58 and his no. C1.

of the steamer hanging down from the back of the blue crown. The overly small, wedge-shaped blue crown and generally exuberant features (wide nose and wide smiling mouth) and similarly exuberant torso contours are related to the diminished blue crown and energetic features seen on a number of other small bronze (cat. 67, 100 and 195) and silver (cat. 218 and 286) statuettes, three of which have actual archaeological contexts at Tell Gumaiyima and Saqqara suggesting a Ptolemaic date.[106]

Also dateable to the Ptolemaic Period is the bronze LPPt-36 (plate 80), a small figure from a Saqqara deposit said to be datable to probably relatively early in a general period from the late 4th to early 2nd century B.C. The small round loops of the uraeus and the very round eyes of the figure, which relate distantly to a type of wider eye seen in the Ptolemaic Period beginning even slightly with Ptolemy II as discussed above, along with the mid-length trapezoidal and horizontally striped beard, tend to indicate the deposit date can be used as a proximate date for the bronze.[107] Other bronzes (e.g. cat. 289) have similar eyes, though, in general, such bronzes are not of high quality and only suggest a very general date range.

The significance of LPPt-36 for the discussion lies more in the iconographic and functional than the stylistic realm. It testifies to the continued late use of the red crown, here enhanced by its curled adjunct, marks the continued use of the royal beard in bronzes,[108] provides an example of a royal figure holding *nw* pots during this period and in a position not clearly attested since the New Kingdom (Achoris' forearms seem raised), that is with forearms at right angles to the body, and once again gives the clear indication that the knees of the figure must have rested on a higher level than the toes unless the figure was to lean very strongly forward.

Two difficult statuettes

Two large closely similar bronzes (cat. 54 – now missing – and cat. 55), one wearing the white crown and one the red crown with its curled adjunct, are unusual for a number of reasons: they provide a rare surviving example of bronzes possibly meant to act as an pair,[109] they both retain sprues (casting vents), and both, while of high quality, are very difficult to date.

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106 Cat. 100 and cat. 195, discussed in Green, *Temple Furniture*, are two small kings on censers who wear very flattened blue crowns, the former's closer to that of the bronze discussed. They originate from a single deposit at Saqqara which offers some paleographic material indicating early Hellenistic dates, and have been generally dated 4th–3rd century in the excavation report. Though the highly problematic and interesting character of the Saqqara deposits in general has been remarked on elsewhere here and should always inject an element of caution in working with dates, these dates seem duly cautious.

107 See the beard of the statue of an early Ptolemaic king at the Orabi Museum, Zagazig, reg. nr. 1411, pl. I of Myśliwiec, "Sculptor's School;" see the same article for comments on the royal beard in temple reliefs of the Late Period.

108 Discussed by De Meulenaere and Bothmer, "Osiris," p. 13 and Russmann, "Two Royal Heads," p. 101; cited as very rare except on sphinxes in the Saite through Ptolemaic Periods by Josephson, "Psamtik I," p. 435 and n. 29 referring to the Zagazig king published by Myśliwiec, "Sculptor's school," p. 163 pls. 1–4. Other late examples are the bearded bronze of Nectanebo II (LPPt-21) referred to above, and, to cite a few quickly noted, stone sculptures Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.99.166, Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.1489E, and a Bucheum sculptors model (Mond, *Bucheum* III, pl. 63 no. 7).

109 For other possibilities see LPPt-9–10 and LPPt-32–33.

Both are from the very old Passalaqua collection and are said to come from Memphis. The description here is based on the piece still in Berlin, but, except, of course, for the crown, would appear from photographs to apply equally to the second bronze. The king wears a red crown with an unusually high cap. His face is rather square with a small quite pointed chin, the brows form a single arc over large eyes with symmetrically curved upper and lower lids, the nose is sharp, and the horizontal mouth has oddly compressed lips. From just beneath the chin hangs a very long thin slightly flaring smooth beard, which rests against the chest at the lower end. The body is stocky from the front and from the side, and the torso is different from any type that could be called Saite, with heavy broad sloping shoulders, heavy breasts, and a certain amount of modeling of the diagonal lines below the chest cavity and around the abdomen, rather than the usually clearer bipartition or tripartition. The legs show a good deal of modeling, with long ridges down the outside of the calves and strong modeling in the area around the gastroencemius muscle.

While the later part of the Third Intermediate Period through very early Saite Period is a possibility for these pieces as a time when a number of the stylistic features are attested and can be accounted for in the particular historical conditions of that time,[110] it is clear from the above that various models also existed during the Ptolemaic Period, and it seems to me these provide better comparisons for these two unusual bronzes.[111] These statuettes would then be an additional Ptolemaic example of the clear programmatic use of bronzes.

Summary chart of bronzes assigned in Parts I and II to Dynasty 26 through the Ptolemaic Period

The chart follows more or less the organization of the discussion above. The table starts with pieces that can be assigned or grouped near a particular king, then proceeds to pieces of more general attribution. Measurements are without tangs.

A certain number of other pieces have been mentioned in text or footnotes that are likely to date to these periods, but listed here are pieces that seem to contribute the most to the question of dating and style of the bronzes.

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[110] Compare TIP-13, LPPt-1, LPPt-6 for various features. Other than the attributes rare in stone sculpture, a circumstance that seems to be met with fairly often in bronzes and not specifically a feature of the Third Intermediate Period, features that might point to the earlier date are the very long beard (compare the bronze sphinxes of Third Intermediate Period kings discussed above, TIP-2, -3, -12, and the statue and sphinx of Psamtik discussed above in this chapter; on the other hand Nectanebo as a falcon LPPt-21 shows a long polygonal beard), and perhaps the bulging of the calf muscle well-known at the beginning of Dynasty 26, though this feature does continue in the 30th dynasty, and has not been and is not easily pursued beyond this (Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat," p. 111, also Perdu, "Un monument," p. 124).

[111] Features that seem to me later in date include the rounded eyes discussed above as occurring in the Ptolemaic Period, the strong slope of the shoulders over the inordinately thick body (compare LPPt-32, -33, -34), the presence of a rounded rim to the crown at least in the back, and the diagonal indications of the lower edge of the rib cage; the level at which the pots are held seems to be atypical for the period from the New Kingdom through Amasis, but has just been noted in LPPt-36.

Identification	Date	Provenance	Pose	Headdress	Size in cm
Bronzes from Dynasty 26					
A. Harbes	664–610		kneeling, hands open	N/A	
1. cat. 51		said “found near pyramids”	kneeling, hands open	nemes	12.3
2. cat. 83		Saqqara, Serapeum	kneeling offering *nw*	nemes	18.5
3. Psamtik cat. 39	664–610 595–589		striding holding *shen*	nemes	19.5
B. silver female, Necho II	610–595	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4. Necho cat. 24	610–595		kneeling hands open	nemes	18.1
5. Necho cat. 25	610–595		kneeling hands open	nemes	13.6
6. cat. 127			kneeling hands open	white crown	17.6
7. cat. 298			kneeling offering *nw*	red crown	17.5
8. cat. 212			kneeling hands open	blue crown	13.5
9. cat. 123		said Memphis cemeteries	kneeling hands open	nemes	12.3
10. cat. 124			kneeling hands open	nemes	12.0
11. Apries cat. 27	589–570		sphinx	nemes	N/A

Identification	Date	Provenance	Pose	Headdress	Size in cm
12. Apries cat. 26	589–570		kneeling hands open	nemes	23
13. Amasis cat. 30	570–526		kneeling on censer	blue crown	5?
14. Amasis cat. 29	570–526	Saqqara, Sacred Animal Necropolis	kneeling on censer	nemes	7?
15. Amasis cat. 31	570–526		kneeling offering *nw*	nemes	10.9
16. Amasis cat. 28	570–526	Saqqara, Serapeum	aegis	nemes	N/A
17. cat. 249			kneeling, hands open	nemes	14.5
18. cat. 42		Bahriya Oasis	kneeling, hands open	nemes	10.5
General Late Period date that could include Dynasty 26					
19. cat. 196		Saqqara, Sacred Animal Necropolis	kneeling, palms downward next to thighs	nemes	5.5
Fourth Century by inscription					
20. Achoris or Nectanebo I cat. 32	393–380 or 380–362		kneeling, arms missing but upward and inward offering *maat*?	blue crown with “streamer” to waist	20.5
21. Nectanebo II cat. 33	360–343	Saqqara, Sacred Animal Necropolis	falcon statuette	upright crown, missing	N/A

Identification	Date	Provenance	Pose	Headdress	Size in cm
General datings to 5th and 4th centuries					
22. cat. 292		Tanis, pit in forecourt of Amun Temple	kneeling arms missing	upright but not preserved, “streamer” to waist	ca. 12
23. cat. 193			kneeling hands open	blue crown “streamer” to waist	14
24. cat. 97		Mit Rahina	striding holding *shen*	nemes	25.5
Datings to Ptolemaic Period					
25. cat. 96		Tukh el-Qaramus	aegis	nemes	N/A
26. cat. 240			head only	upright crown	6.5
27. cat. 203			kneeling arms missing	nemes	16.5
28. cat. 59			striding with unusual attributes	cap crown	12.5
29. cat. 91			kneeling, hands open	blue crown	16
30. cat. 73			striding, fist held forward	mixed headdress?	37
Heavy faced type, range 4th century and later					
31. cat. 52		said “found near pyramids”	kneeling hands open	nemes	17.5

Identification	Date	Provenance	Pose	Headdress	Size in cm
Types related to Classicizing/Idealizing, range 3rd c.? and later					
32. cat. 153			striding hands open	blue crown	24
33. cat. 268			striding hands open	blue crown	24.1
34. cat. 130			striding, one open hand forward and down	cap crown	27.8
Type with exuberant features					
35. cat. 201			kneeling hands open	blue crown	11
36. cat. 103		Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis	kneeling offering *nw*	red crown	7.5

PART III: COMMENTARY

Observations on the Style of the Bronzes

The royal image

As was the case in the Third Intermediate Period, and as may be the case in the Kushite Period, bronzes of the Late Period in several instances definitely offered evidence about the royal image of a particular king that supplements the stone statuary corpus in important ways. Identified individual images were noted for Necho and Apries alongside a more generalized Saite image. Bronzes confirm the existence of a less traditionally idealized royal type in the early part of the fourth century with the probable Achoris. Bronzes also reinforce the significance of the inscriptionally dated image of Nectanebo II, that is the round faced large-eyed type seen in the falcon bronze and the falcon statues. On the other hand, in the fourth century, inscriptionally dated images are over all fewer, and more general types may well already begin to exist among fairly high quality bronzes (e.g. LPPt-31).

For the Ptolemaic period, it is first of all important to note that royal bronzes **can** be dated to the Ptolemaic Period on good grounds. Various style types are apparent among bronzes in the Ptolemaic Period, but at least beyond Ptolemy III it is very difficult to sort even pieces of good quality chronologically. Several factors can be suggested. First, of course, the relationship of Egyptian-tradition statuary to a primary portrait created in Hellenistic terms is difficult in any case and only now being worked out. Secondly, it may also be there are progressively less temple offerings of this fairly costly type – evidence from the Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis temples might seem to suggest this.[112] Thirdly, however, it seems that bronzes may deviate considerably from what one sees in stone statuary in any case.[113] The nature of these differences is evaluated below.

The particular character of the bronzes

In the Saite period at least up to the time of Apries and Amasis, it is quite noticeable that the bodily proportions of a significant proportion of the bronzes have become

[112] "The usage of the Sacred Animal precincts at Hepnebes thus covers the period from at least the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the end of the Ptolemaic era. However, the main development and expansion of the site took place during the last interval of independent rule that separated the First and Second Persian Periods (404–343 BC). This is confirmed by building history and by cartouches of Nakhthorheb on architectural elements from the sanctuaries. The documents found also support this, the bulk of them being likely to be of fourth century BC date. Although the objects are more difficult to date precisely, some sculptures found in the various deposits date to the Saite-Persian Period (Hastings), while a good proportion of the many bronze and wood figures of deities seem likely to belong to the pre-Ptolemaic Period." (pp. 120–121 in Davies and Smith, "Sacred Animal Temples.")

[113] Conversations with Paul Stanwick have proved revelatory in this regard. Though I can assign some bronzes to the Ptolemaic Period as discussed above, in fact none of these strike him as recognizable based on what he knows of the stone statuary.

more standardized as compared to those of the Third Intermediate Period, and standardized in the direction of the conventions for stone statuary.[114] The tight waists, leg elongation, and naturalistic attention to the thighs of a kneeling figure which were seen in New Kingdom and many Third Intermediate Period bronzes are largely absent. Instead, there is often an emphasis on a relatively powerful upper torso, more realistically proportioned legs, and firm thighs. Inlay and otherwise articulated surfaces are also eschewed. The result is a considerably more sober and compact presentation overall. While the impression of more individually treated bronzes again from the reigns of Apries and Amasis may be an artifact of differential preservation, the elongated legs of Apries (LPPt-12), the slightly mannered effects of the bronzes attributed to Amasis, and even the more elongated torso rendering of (LPPt-17), for example, suggest more attunement to the possibilities of metalwork and/or a new style more congenial to expression in metalwork.

The relative standardization of the overall figure brings into strong relief another aspect of Saite bronzes. Compared to what we see in stone statuary, there is a remarkable degree of tolerance in the bronze corpus for the penetration of rather idiosyncratic features or for unexpected style variants even among major bronzes: the strange detailing of Necho's nemes in LPPt-4 for example, the frequency of the reverse kilt fold (LPPt-4, -6, -8, -9, 10), jewelry and crowns not in vogue in stone statuary, the variety of uraei even including totally non-standard asps over the forehead, the lines under the throat even in late Dynasty 26.

Much of this diversity can be understood as a function of time. For example, statuettes from what seems to be approximately the first half of the dynasty showed combinations of elements from at least two different styles, one more closely related to the typical Kushite style and another related to what has been termed northern style and which seems to anticipate classical Saite style. Certainly this reflects differences like those observable in stone sculpture that can be grouped and described as northern and southern, but it also suggests even more complex regional(?) gradations in the employment of these elements.[115] The frequency of the reverse kilt fold in this corpus within what appears to be a fairly limited space of time and in bronzes of significant quality constitutes a sort of demographic hotspot which is difficult to explain satisfactorily:[116] a programmatic depiction of a left-handed Necho would be part of an answer but it does not seem really likely; another possible explanation is

114 See also the comments of Russmann, "Royal Statuette," p. 154.

115 Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat," pp. 42–43 and passim discusses some observable differences between northern and southern style at the time.

116 Atypical orientations occur sometimes without apparent explanation in Egyptian statuary, particularly bronzes; see, for example, the discussion in the Kushite chapter of instances of private statuary and bronze gods with raised right arms in relation to the Kushite kings showing the feature. Moreover, the kings listed above are not the only examples of royal statuettes with reverse kilt folds. While it is often difficult to observe the direction of the kilt fold in pictures at angles, and, even in cases of apparent occurrences, it is always possible the photo is simply reversed (the reverse folds have been verified for Saite group under discussion!), at least three other rather poor kings seem to show the feature (cat. 199, 216, 257 all unverified). The reverse fold also occurs among bronze gods of variable quality. Daressy, *Divinités* shows (unverified): CG38031 Osiris-Lunus from the Huber collection [some of this collection is known to be from Saqqara excavations according to the entry on the collector in Dawson, *Who Was Who* 3rd ed., p. 210)]; CG38524 Anubis from the Serapeum; CG36642 Khonsu from the Huber collection; CG38685 Sobek from Sais; also, note CG38639 a terracotta Horus. Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, plate 10c shows a dog-headed Anubis from Sais.

that a false archaism in a time particularly interested in archaism – or some otherwise justified alternative taste – somehow arose and maintained itself in some more or less restricted area (the bronzes hardly suggest a very cohesive style) for a while.

Peculiarities from the time of Apries or Amasis, however, are less likely so far as we know to be tied to the political circumstances of the earlier part of the dynasty: a specific royal image during the last two reigns of the dynasty and perhaps with it greater penetration of other conventions is suggested by the fact that a number of similar unnamed stone sculptures can be grouped by appearance and reasonably attributed to Apries or to Amasis. Even so, the bronze corpus seems to show a certain permeability to new influences and demonstrates unexpected connections: odd features such as hanging uraei might, for example, arise within distinctive cult possibly associated with a particular location; features such as the lines under the throat of Necho or of Amasis aegis, discreet details observed in a restricted number of instances of temple and tomb reliefs and a few bronze statuettes from various sites throughout the dynasty, but not widespread and not in stone statuary, suggest the affinity of bronzes and temple relief.[117] Occurrences of the red crown and necklaces in the earlier part of the dynasty also might point again to the temple relief environment.

Royal bronzes strongly evoke a broad range of influences: defined royal images, temple surroundings (where sharings are probably reinforced by the very strong functional association of royal bronzes with relief – both are embodiments of actual ritual), local cult, and even the occasional idiosyncratic combination that seems to testify to an individual's interpretation.[118] Even when fairly standardized proportions and a fairly consistent dynastic image suggest an archetype was somehow promulgated or more systematically referred to for those elements, details testify to a somewhat more fluid environment. [119] The specific locales where most of the bronzes received at least their final decoration must, of course, have been the workshops of the temples; the temples were themselves deeply imbued with tradition and the maintainers of artistic forms, but on the one hand reached out to a wide network of local influences and on the other interacted with a more unitary version of tradition represented by the king.

In the Saite period, the particular character of the royal bronzes and the rather unstable system of influences on which they seem to draw is observable precisely because the tension among the "local," the "traditional," and the "promulgated" aspects is relatively balanced. In retrospect, the stylistic variety and latitude in bronzes that could simply have been the result of unusual political fragmentation in the Third Intermediate Period is, when viewed from the perspective available

[117] The appearance of these features in relief and in bronzes is considered at greater length in my contribution to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Centennial volumes, "Aegis of Amasis."

[118] Region is of course another influence, but hard to discuss without a better sense of where bronzes are made. Roeder tried to correlate differences in certain bronze deity poses and attributes with gross differences in region (Roeder, "Osiris-Mumie," or *Bronzefiguren*, p.542 ff.), but I am not sure how successful this was. For discussion of the influence of region in Egyptian stone art, see, for example, Fazzini, "Several Objects," and Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat," and the recent discussion by Russmann of the patterns in the sources for Third Intermediate Period and Late Period archaism, especially pages 43–44, in her essay entitled "Archaism," in *Eternal Egypt*.

[119] Of course, the dialectical nature of Saite bronze artwork suggested here fits rather well with announced but unpublished technical studies claiming to have noted the assemblage of premanufactured wax elements. See Raven, "Catalogue Project," citing also observations of Roeder.

during the Saite Period, partly inherent to the production of bronze statuary in Egyptian temples in the first millennium. The difficulties attendant on understanding the Ptolemaic Period again make this kind of reasonably focused view difficult to obtain. Further insight may be possible as studies on stone statuary and publication of excavated pieces progress, but at present the apparent disparities between recognized types in stone and bronze in the Ptolemaic Period, and likewise the fair degree of divergence among recognized types of bronzes themselves (for example, the type with exuberant features is simply not known in stone statuary and is difficult to relate in any kind of developmental way to the idealizing or heavy-faced types of bronzes) may very well be a result of their production in temple circles increasingly insulated from royal interactions.

Other Observations

Development in the royal bronze corpus

The kneeling type

The kneeling type with open hands has become more popular than the offering type in the Late Period and Ptolemaic Periods.

Among kneeling kings of the period, only the *nw* pot offering is definitely seen (LPPt-2, -7, -15, -36); LPPt-20 probably held *maat*.[120] In the first half of Dynasty 26 (LPPt-2, -7), the pots are held high before the chest like Third Intermediate Period and Kushite examples; in few later examples the pots are held either in hands resting on the thighs, or apparently in hands whose forearms are more or less at right angles to the plane of the body.

The bronze kneeling kings of this period show a generally slightly larger size, with seven examples above 16 centimeters, a size which was, with one notable exception, the maximum height of the Kushite kneeling bronzes.

Finally, there is a greater tendency toward small kneeling bronzes of generalized appearance than is represented by the assignments. I have noted some pieces that might be dated to the Third Intermediate Period, and others have come up in connection with the 4th century through Ptolemaic types. There are probably also Saite types. It is in the nature of the problem that it is easier to assign pieces to the two more distant and therefore more different periods than it is to decide that a piece belongs in the middle ground, that is the Saite Period.

Certain manufacturing features are first noted on dated bronze kings, such as a single long tang departing from beneath the shins like LPPt-19 above from the Saqqara excavations or the very small platform base first attested by a small example probably datable to the fourth century (cat. 116). It is not possible without examining other kinds of bronzes to say whether such features really offer any dating criteria. Other types of small kings which would necessarily lean strongly forward unless their knees were propped on a higher surface may well belong to these periods (e.g. cat. 188, 226) just as others belonged to the Third Intermediate Period. This matter will be discussed in the chapter on role.

[120] One extremely small king of unknown date in Edinburgh (cat. 120) offers a *wedjat* eye; the offering is also seen in Ptolemaic reliefs.

Other bronze types

The large standing kings discussed above display a pose with palms inward (LPPt-32–33), rather like that of the kneeling kings but wider spread, and an anomalous pose with one hand at the side and one arm raised with palm facing downwards (LPPt-34). The latter pose seems to be intentional, but is otherwise unknown.

Among the standing types of bronzes, there are the standing kings holding rings (LPPt-3 and LPPt-24) that are possibly related to a type seen with an animal deity and discussed below, though they formally are similar to the Kushite types that offer nemset vases. However, the other standing types that among Kushite bronzes suggested either other programmatic roles among bark statuary or ancillary cult types do not appear here among the bronzes that can be attributed to particular periods. There are also no identified striding sphinxes. Comparison is very difficult because a very brief and object dense period (25th dynasty) is being compared with a very long period in which dating is difficult (Late Period – Ptolemaic Period), but the absence of one or both of these two poses may be telling.

Boxes or shrines for bronze statuary

The statuette of Apries discussed above (LPPt-12) is accompanied by fragmentary bronze slabs with the king's titulary and his name Apries that are said to have been found with it. It is possible that they belong to a box or a very large base which held the statue. The former possibility is particularly striking, since important statuettes are known sometimes to have resided and been protected in boxes or naoi of their own, which were opened when the statue was to be vitalized and active. It is interesting to think of a bronze kneeling king in this light, and the possibility will be considered further in the chapter on role.[121]

Evidence for groups

A few pieces of evidence can be noted that pertain to the question of the display of the pieces in the temple.

– LPPt-9 and LPPt-10, unusually similar pieces that both show the reverse kilt fold, have inscriptions on the reverse side of the small footplate under the feet, that of the first reading possibly *pḥ*, rear, and the other probably *wnmy*, left.[122] These could possibly be placement instructions for some three- or four-sided arrangement.

– Cat. 54 and cat. 55 are also extraordinarily similar, and were probably buried and found together since they have stayed together during their modern history. They, too, are candidates for some kind of association in the temple.

– LPPt-32 and LPPt-33, are again unusually similar pieces dated here to the Ptolemaic Period. Their further association with statuettes of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys possibly suggests some elaborate staging.

121 From an earlier period, many of Tutankhamun's ritual-form statues were found in small shrines of their own; for statues and cult objects with their shrines at Dendera see Cauville, "Statues cultuelles," passim; there usually the naoi themselves are specified as wooden, e.g. pp. 78 and 79, or as having wooden doors, p. 76. No metal is mentioned. However, cast metal parts of shrines are known, as pp. 22–24 of Greene, *Temple Furniture,* and even elements of large metal shrines are known, e.g. Louvre N886, two elements from the cornice of a large naos cast in bronze and gilded, noted in Delange, "Bronze doré," p. 139 and fig. 4.

122 Birgit Schlick-Nolte very kindly took photographs and molds of the inscriptions on these two pieces. James Allen studied these and suggested the readings.

– Cat. 67, which certainly dates to the Ptolemaic period as discussed above, was found by Petrie with another bronze king of similar size and associated with elements of what seems to have been a portable shrine. Like other small statuettes of kings, these might have held the corners of the shrine or of a canopy, or performed some other attendant role.

On the other hand, of two published instances of bronze kneeling kings – hands open inwards and hands offering – shown directly associated with a god, one is not and one is probably not valid:

– Cat. 186, a late example with extended arms and palms facing inwards not discussed above, is fitted in a base with a bronze Apis, whose own integral base is inscribed with the name of a private person. It is important to note that this arrangement was noted to be a modern at the time the piece was sold in the late nineteenth century, though the arrangement has been perpetuated by the display at the British Museum. In general, as will be discussed in the chapter on function, this particular hand position probably does not coordinate with images of the king facing a god as though offering.

– Another statuette of a kneeling offering king (cat. 126; actually holding conical pots rather than *nw* pots) in a base inscribed for Bastet and with a second opening, thus implying fixed association with a god, is possibly problematic; damage (?) to the king's feet resulting in an odd backward leaning pose certainly raises the possibility his insertion in the base may be secondary.[123]

In the chapter on role the general question of decorum as it relates to groupings of bronze kings in the standard poses with gods and how this decorum might help account for what seems to be a lack of valid permanent groupings that have survived until the present will be considered at length.

During the Late and Ptolemaic period, a number of non-standard poses are attested, and these seem sometimes to have been fixed in small antithetical groupings facing a god or a manifestation of a god, groupings which have occasionally survived into modern times: [124]

– A small kneeling king in Boston (cat. 65) who once faced a Bastet, now broken away above the feet, holds his arms bent at the elbow and palms away from his face toward the missing goddess.

– A statuette (LPPt-3) holding a *shen* ring inscribed on the flattened lower edge with the name Psamtik was mentioned above. The *shen*-proffering LPPt-24 has been dated above to the time of Nectanebo I. A third example of the type (cat. 50) is a very fine and complicated casting, and displays "realistic" features; in this piece, the proffered object is shown simply as a thick ring. A clue to the original context of these pieces may be given by a bronze in Brooklyn where a small king extends his hands connected by an element (a vestigial ring?) towards an upright otter (cat. 74). The Brooklyn king, like almost all other examples of this type which may hold actual rings or elements that conceivably represent reduced or vestigial rings, wears a cap crown, is himself flat and minimalist in form, and has an integral base on which he

123 See cat. 70 discussion for relevant discussion. A third group displayed at the Louvre (cat. 269) seems to me to present obvious difficulties.

124 The Saqqara example LPPt-19 discussed above shows a nonstandard pose of worship that possibly relates to these pieces.

stands above the larger base. It seems reasonable to suggest the type relates to the animal cults which were highly popular and were certainly "institutionalized" by the end of the 26th dynasty.

– Other examples of non-standard poses in groups of king and god can be cited: cat. 81 is an excavated piece of presumably fourth century or later date that likewise shows a king, here standing with arms bent upward at the elbow and palms held away from his face, in a fixed group with opposite a central ibis and several gods.

Censers

One example of a bronze prostrate king on a censer exists from Dynasty 12 or 13 (cat. 95; see the Middle-New Kingdom chapter) and a representation of the same type exists since at least mid-Dynasty 18.[125] Representations of kneeling kings on censers are known since at least Tutankhamun.[126] In the bark turning station of Dynasty 29 at Karnak Psammuthis/Achoris censes before the bark using an arm-censer with an accompanying kneeling king who raises his arms as in adoration beside a cartouche cup with flat bottom tie turned away from him; a scene at Dendera shows the cartouche tie toward the king as most often in the bronzes.[127]

The only bronze kneeling kings on censers dated by inscription depict Amasis, who is represented by two examples (LPPt-13, -14). The statuettes of Amasis show the king with well-formed body, hands resting on the horizontal edge formed by the flat bottom tie of the cartouche-shaped pellet cup. One of the kings wears a blue crown and the other a nemes. Neither kneeling statuette is inscribed, rather the arm of the censer bears the inscription. Thereafter, the blue crown occurs far more frequently than the nemes on kings kneeling on censers. Usually the king places his hands on the edge of the flat "tie" of the cartouche cup, though the opposite orientation of the cup does occur (e.g. cats. 166, 264, and 273).

One such king (cat. 239) has a long flat streamer running from the back edge of the blue crown to the waistline of the kilt, and can, therefore, probably be considered fourth century.

One example (cat. 195) is dated by a general archaeological context at Saqqara to the fourth-second century period. The king wears a blue crown flattened on top; his arms and legs have been collapsed into one element resting on the edge of the pellet cup.

[125] Fischer, "Prostrate," pp. 26ff.; Fischer, "More Prostrate," 35ff.

[126] H. Fischer, "The Evolution of the arm-like censer," *JARCE* 2 (1963) 28ff., especially figure 6I and p. 34 no. 11.

[127] Traunecker, *Achôris*, p. 38 and pl. XI (drawing). The details are hard to verify in the photograph A2, though the thickened edge of the cartouche seems to be turned away from the king. Chassinat, *Dendara* 9, pl. 896 shows the other orientation.

Material features, costume, iconography and inscriptions

Material features

Technique so far as it is observable among the royal bronzes of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods seems fairly continuous with that of earlier periods. As to alloys, lead content is sometimes quite negligible despite the fact that a general shift towards leaded alloys is an accepted observation, and LPPt-26 is the only verified black bronze of this period. Unusual forms, such as the sphinx of Apries or the falcon of Nectanebo II, may be hollow cast, but even very large kneeling kings I have examined have been solid cast. Tangs consistently have a rectangular section, and are often of quite a substantial size. Arms are often cast with the body, but since corrosion can conceal an arm/body join, it is unwise to generalize about this; one example (LPPt-27) certainly had separable arms attached on a tenon which fit down into a slot from the top of the shoulder.

Preserved evidence of gilding has been noted only in LPPt-15, LPPt-18, LPPt-21, LPPt-25, and LPPt-33, but there is no reason to doubt that at least kilts and nemes were very frequently gilded.

Costume

The costume of the small kneeling kings is quite traditional, and likewise of the standing kings, who in other periods occasionally wore aprons or triangular fronted kilts and in the Third Intermediate Period might display more inlay. The costume consists of the *shendyt* and usually the nemes, with the blue crown (of variable form) particularly popular from the Fourth Century-Ptolemaic Period. Red crowns occur, but rarely. The white crown is popular through early Dynasty 26, but thereafter is only certainly attested in cat. 54 which is of problematic date, though I have suggested it is Ptolemaic. There are two cap crowns among the dated bronzes, and the crown certainly occurs frequently among others that must belong to the period. The khat is not surely attested (but see cat. 132 as a possibility).

Broad collars and bracelets are seen occasionally through the mid-26th dynasty, and then, after a lapse in the record, appear occasionally during the fourth century and later.[128] Beards are found among the dated bronzes: the sphinx of Apries, the falcon statue of Nectanebo II, and the small bronze in the red crown from the Saqqara deposits.

In fact, while accoutrements like crowns, beards, and jewelry may go out of fashion for a period, it is important to note that it is quite impossible to altogether rule out their appearance in the bronze corpus.

Iconography

The general tendencies in offerings have been discussed above.

In the chapter on the Third Intermediate Period, it was suggested that the royal image in ritual statuary connected with attendance on the gods was sometimes intentionally a childlike image. The same might be said of some of the 26th dynasty kneeling kings. In particular, the small kneeling statuette of Amasis (LPPt-15) has

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[128] For example the Necho II bronzes have jewelry, see LPPt-4, -5; for 4th century-Ptolemaic bronzes with jewelry see note 94.

an extremely delicate and childlike face with a soft pudgy body, and a relatively short hip to knee distance could be a related feature. The last seems also to be, however, a dynastic inclination: the king in the red crown (LPPt-7) shows also the very short hip to knee distance, and the basalt slabs of Psamtik I and Necho II/Psamtik II suggested to be from Heliopolis/Sais and referred to above depict same remarkably short hip to knee distance in kings that are certainly not childlike.

Inscriptions

Most notable, of course, is the dearth of royal names in the post-Persian period, and the complete absence of any inscribed bronzes for the Ptolemaic Period. The royal name, when in the 26th dynasty and the fourth century it occurs, does not appear on the body but is strictly limited to the belt, though it may appear on either the front (LPPt-5, -12, -20) or back (LPPt-4, -16) of the belt, and in the statuette of Amasis (LPPt-16) also occurs down the front of the skirt. This may represent an acknowledgement of the fact that the bronze is often seen from the back.

General Remarks

Most important matters have been discussed thoroughly above in connection with the style of the bronzes and the developments in the corpus.

In itself the Saite Period represents a strong series of bronzes, but it is necessary to remember that in addition there may still have been considerable numbers of Kushite bronzes displayed in Egypt during the 26th dynasty, even further enriching the impression of a large array of royal bronze figures in attendance on divine cult at least during that period and until the Persian destruction of temples.[129]

With the post-Persian period, the picture among the bronzes becomes more diffuse. Probably beginning even in the Saite Period, there is certainly some enrichment among non-standard types, possibly associated with the growth of certain divine and animal cults.

[129] See the Kushite chapter.

A BRIEF NOTE ON BRONZE KNEELING KINGS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

The end of the tradition of bronze kneeling kings as temple statuettes in Egypt is difficult to specify. If the end of the attention to the great temples in the Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis area can serve as a terminus ante quam for the depletion of the meaning of even the non-standard types, there are some parameters: "The last recorded Mother of Apis burial dates to 41 BC ..., and though usage of the catacombs and temples may have continued into the Roman era, it is clear that by the time a Christian community occupied the site not earlier than the fourth century AD, the temple buildings had already been fairly comprehensively destroyed. The usage of the Sacred Animal precincts at Hepnebes thus covers the period from at least from the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the end of the Ptolemaic era."[130]

One type of bronze kneeling "king" seems to postdate the late Ptolemaic period and is surely a Roman Egyptianizing invention, that is, a small winged figure in royal nemes and kilt holding an offering table (cat. 142, 189, 215, 265).[131] One fairly large example apparently from Egypt itself shows strongly Hellenizing features, with a large fleshy oval face, eyes that droop toward the outer corners, and a small serious mouth (cat. 189; plate 81).

None of these winged figures actually have uraei, and among actual Egyptian bronzes the combination of bronze king and offering table is not preserved.[132] Fecundity figures sometimes kneel and hold offering tables, and because of their original strong associations with the king might be interrogated as a possible element in the development of such figures.[133] Small priestly figures sometimes hold offering trays, and could be investigated as a possible contributing type.[134] The small winged figures in Greco-Roman tradition sometimes found at the corners of stands for vessels or

[130] Davies, "Sacred Animal," p. 120

[131] Other Roman Egyptianizing types exist, for example two small striding bronze kings holding hawk standards and tayet knots as in Hilton Price, *Catalogue* II, no. 3764–5. Cat. 241 may have originally been a similar piece.

[132] Except perhaps in cat. 183, which is, however, also noted as repaired across the neck and body and would require close examination.

[133] Baines, *Fecundity Figures* is a highly articulated study of the development and iconology of these complex figures.

[134] See the small figures discussed by Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, p. 306ff., para. 382 ff. One figure without wings but with a simple offering table that I have seen on the art market also has a flange behind the neck as if meant to be an attachment, and is I would presume Roman itself. A large figure with a modius on top of short simple hair was excavated at Faras and is probably datable to the second or third century A.D. This piece does not seem clearly to represent either a king or a standard type of non-royal figure. It actually preserves a projecting flange at the back presumably for attachment. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1912.1295; see Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II, no. 141 on p. 219 where the bronze is pictured and given the date of second or third century A.D. according to the date of the Meroitic cemetery at Faras where it was found; the piece is described as not Meroitic in type, though the shape of the offering table it holds is considered to be Meroitic).

functional objects are clearly the genre to which these Egyptianizing figures are assimilated.[135] The type could date from any time following the period of heavy Roman contact with Egypt, particularly following the conquest when Egyptian objects as booty began to travel heavily to Italy.

[135] Felgenhauer, *Ägyptische und Ägyptisierende Kunstwerke*, pp. 54–55, provides a brief but very interesting discussion of the Egyptianizing type.

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THE MEANING AND ROLE OF ROYAL BRONZE STATUARY

There are several aspects that need to be considered in trying to obtain as rounded as possible a picture of the meaning and role of bronze royal statuary.

1 The royal bronze statuary corpus
   a the range of types
   b the identification and meaning of the different offerings or hand positions held by the statuary

For both a and b with regard to the kneeling pose, the commonest pose for bronze statuary, comparison with the occurrences and variety of the kneeling poses in stone statuary, presented in Appendix 1, and relief will be important.

2 Indications for the mounting and display of the bronze statuary
3 Discussion of types of temple activities in which royal kneeling bronzes might have been used
4 Evidence for the range and intentions of donors of royal bronze statuary

While I mainly emphasize here physical and pictorial evidence, I try to draw on relevant textual evidence.

The royal bronze statuary corpus:
The range of types

Large bronze statuary of kings is unusual, and it is not easy to generalize about its role. Of the preserved examples (cat. 12/TIP-9, cat. 93, 94, 129, 138)[1] at least the first three definitely represented the king in a version of the striding pose, but of those the statues of Pepi and the accompanying figure are surely "cult" statues of the king, while that of Pedubaste is probably a ritual performance statue and is discussed below.

Most royal bronze statues measure 30 cm or below, and it is almost exclusively this small royal bronze statuary that is discussed here.

Seated

Although the Dendara crypts record very large (1.57 m) black-bronze seated statues

[1] I use cat. numbers along with any sequence numbers in this chapter to facilitate comparison of poses.

of unnamed ancestral kings,[2] among actual preserved statuary there are only two very small examples of seated kings known to me that seem valid (cat. 151 and 297).[3] Two large hollow examples of enthroned kings, extremely near duplicates – even to the "break" edges – of each other and of a set of animal headed deities, are problematic for typological, stylistic, or technical reasons and cannot be included in the corpus.[4]

Standing

Standing kings constitute a relatively small group of examples.

A number offer *nw* pots or *maat*, hold *hes* or *nemset* vessels, or hold a ring-like object.[5] A few others hold their arms forward with palms inward.[6] One example (cat. 43) holds its arms at its sides and was probably meant to top a staff.

Another group holds a pose whose meaning is not clear. This is the group of small Kushite bronzes who hold either the left or the right arm up and the other at the side, and whose fists are pierced so that they might have held something narrow such as staves, poles, weapons, or implements.[7] This is a type of ambiguous meaning. The statues could be one of several types discussed in the Kushite chapter. It is certain that statuettes in this pose but of unknown materials existed in the temple as representations of ancient and ancestral kings. One representation at Dendara of a small (13.2 cm) *black-bronze* statuette of a standing king (there with hanging arms) seems to relate to such a cult of past kings, and supports the possibility that some such statuettes of kings may have been bronze.[8] On the other hand, if the variation between right and left hands is meaningful, the possibility that the Kushite figures were intended to form symmetrically disposed pairs points more to an attendant role to some other focal figure or focal activity. Possibilities include either bark steersmen on divine processional barks or guardian figures.

[2] Cauville, "Statues cultuelles," pp. 107–8. Black bronze itself may constitute a sort of precious material; see Giumlia-Mair and Quirke, "Black Copper," e.g. pp. 104–5. The Ptolemaic cult lists at Edfu and elsewhere refer to statues of the Ptolemaic kings and queens which receive cult and are of such a size as to able to be carried in their naoi. Their pose is not discussed but must be seated or possibly standing, but they seem to be of gold or gilded wood encrusted with precious stones rather than of bronze (Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, p. 114).

[3] I have not examined either at close hand.

[4] See cats. 231 and 234.

[5] Selected examples: with *nw* pots cat. 6/NK-8 (problematic), cat. 10/TIP-6, cat. 245/K-32; with *maat* cat. 68/K-21, cat. 102/K-45, cat. 190/K-23; with *hes* cat. 121/K-19, cat. 60/K-33, cat. 87; with *nemset* or such, cat. 261/K-40, cat. 220/K-41; for the ring-like object see non-standard offerings below.

[6] Arms forward, palms inward: cat. 75/K-38, cat. 109/K-46, cat. 153/LPPt-32, cat. 268/LPPt-33 (for the last two see the discussion of the possible association with goddess statues); cat. 133 could be, as cat. 136 is almost definitely, one of the type of kings with vestigial *shen*-ring gesture, discussed further under non-standard offerings below.

[7] The contemporary examples would be cat. 287/K-2, cat. 69/K-14, cat. 255/K-18; see also the discussion in that chapter about possible examples from the Third Intermediate Period. A few examples definitely of the same or a near pose, in one case holding an odd possibly spurious item (cat. 288), are preserved, but do not obviously seem to require consideration along with the Kushite examples, being of a rather wide range of time and sizes and often of rather poor quality.

[8] Cauville, "Statues cultuelles," p. 108; Chassinat, *Dendara* V, pp. 106 and 112, pls. 407 and 411. Such statuettes of current and ancestral kings stand near the barks in, for example, Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I* I pl. 19, and many are carried by a long procession of priests in part of the Min festival celebrated by Ramesses III, pls. 203 and 205 in Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV.

Especially from the Late Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods, these standing types are often preserved without arms so that their original pose cannot be determined. Neither the upper part nor the legs below the knees of the large statue of Pedubaste (cat. 12/TIP-9) are preserved, but the statue is particularly interesting as it shows an unusually wide stride and a strong sense of movement; it has been suggested above in the Third Intermediate Period chapter that this is probably a stylistic feature related to features seen in some other bronzes of that period, but it cannot be ruled out that some other activity such as smiting or hunting was depicted.

Kneeling

The majority of royal bronze statues take a kneeling pose, and it is revealing to compare the range of kneeling poses in stone royal statuary and in relief with that in bronze.

Kneeling and otherwise lowered postures in stone royal statuary, as indicated in Appendix 1, include 1) the upright kneeling position, 2) the "running" kneeling position, 3) the lowered kneel position, and 4) the fully prostrate position. Kings in the upright posture offer *nw* pots, hold offering tables, emblems, naoi; in the time of Akhenaten they apparently also raised hands in adoration. The second posture, "the running kneel," is likewise associated with holding offering tables. Both the second and third occur in connection with a coronation ritual in which the king pushes his names toward the god, with other kinds of ritual enactments, and in one case with the presentation of a decree before the gods; the posture has been described as identifying the king as directing his movement explicitly to his god or gods, as if calling attention to his action.[9] The fourth, the prostrate position, is rare. While the pose must indicate subjection or abnegation of some sort, the situations and meaning of its use in Egyptian religion or ritual are not clear.[10]

Two dimensional depictions of kings or statues of kings show less firm boundaries between the actions associated with the postures: upright kneeling figures may lean forward slightly, as may depictions of upright kneeling statuary; kings in the running kneel position, or even in the lowered kneel position, may offer *nw* pots, for example.[11]

Royal bronze statuary shows virtually only the standard kneeling position, that is, resting on knees and toes with both heels under the buttocks and spine erect.[12] The

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9 Bothmer, "Osorkon II," p. 5, paraphrasing H. W. Müller and Cyril Aldred.

10 See particularly Fischer, "Prostrate Figures," pp. 26–42. Discussed and with references to other prostrate statuary in Hill, "Favissa." The word prostrate in itself is not fully clear and is used by scholars for different gradients of lowering the body to the ground. Fischer uses it and I use it to designate statues whose hips and stomach rest on the ground.

11 For instances of both, see the Abydos Chapel of Ramesses I where small statuettes hold a variety of upright but leaning positions, and Seti I depicts Ramesses I extending an offering table, and himself offering a statuette of himself holding myrrh, all, including the statuette, in the running kneel position, Winlock, *Ramesses I*, pls. II, III. Variously inclined (for what Peter Brand describes as functional or honorific reasons) standing and kneeling depictions are remarkably common in relief during the reign of Seti I, see Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 8–19 for examples and discussion. For a group including strongly leaning upright kneeling figures from the Late Period, see the slabs of Psamtik I, Necho II/Psamtik II, and Nectanebo I, discussed most recently in relation to one another by Arnold, *Late Temples*, pp. 71, 75–6, 108 and notes.

12 There is only one probably late and poor example of a royal figure in a running kneel (cat. 278), and

difference between the range of the attitude among stone statuary and relief depictions and the range of the attitude among bronze statuary is striking. It seems unlikely entire types of bronzes are missing; more probably the nature of the particular acts depicted is a factor in the restraint. This is discussed below.

Summary

On the whole, the review of the bronze royal statuary corpus confirms the generally accepted notion that it is heavily weighted towards types suitable for temple roles and particularly types performing ritual acts. Secondly, standing or kneeling figures seem able to perform the same acts perhaps with some nuance of meaning or time – though there is a predilection for kneeling statuary. Thirdly, the bronze royal corpus shows a more restricted set of postures than stone royal statuary performing offering acts, and a much more restricted set than stone statuary or relief depictions in the aggregate would indicate possible.

The royal bronze statuary corpus: Identification and meaning of the standard offerings and activities represented

The standard offerings

Standing or kneeling offering bronzes present to the god a restricted set of offerings. In order of their appearance in bronze royal statuary, these offerings are the *nw* pot or wine-offering which occurs in bronzes from the time of at least Thutmose III and is by far the most frequent, the *maat* offering which occurs in a number of examples from at least the early Ramesside period through the Kushite Period and is possibly attested in the time of Achoris, and the *wedjat* offering which occurs twice, one example certainly from the Third Intermediate Period.

The wine-offering in *nw* pots is a symbolic offering rather than a record of rituals actually performed.[13] This is clearly demonstrated by Roland Tefnin's study of the colossal kneeling statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahri.[14] Preserved inscriptions of two of the colossal kneeling statues offering *nw* pots from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri contain names for the statues, like those given to elements of architecture, and those names describe the offering that they are performing. However, the offering represented visually by *nw* pots is actually described otherwise: in one case it is termed *maat* and in the second case *rnpwt*, or "fruits of the earth/river." The latter is the offering named on the statue of Thutmose III which bears an offering of plants and other items on a table.[15] Tefnin goes on to suggest that the kneeling statue with pots is a developed form of the hieroglyph *ḥnk* meaning "to offer" which depicts an arm and a pot, precisely the symbol used on the bases of the statue and

one early example of a rather fine prostrate king which is discussed in the Middle Kingdom group. There is an example of an unusual private figure in a running kneel with arms bent and palms facing outwards, Athens 640, p. 221 and pl. 31 of Müller, "Torso," and pl. 2 of Hill, "Aegis of Amasis."

[13] Poo, *Wine*, pp. 68–69. This is mainly a study of texts and pictorial representations.

[14] Tefnin, *Hatshepsout*, pp. 74–78, regarding New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. nos. 29.3.1 and 30.3.1.

[15] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG42056, Legrain, *Statues*.

very frequently in offering statements. The *nw* pot offering clearly then symbolizes offerings in general.

The *maat* and *wedjat* offerings likewise must be understood as symbolizing all offerings. As Emily Teeter notes in her study of the *maat* offering, "In essence, all offerings were by the Ramesside period considered to be an aspect of *Maat*.... *Maat*, as a summary of all offering rituals, was the epitome of offerings, and ... all other tangible offerings are subsumed in the *Maat* ritual."[16] As for the *wedjat* offering, Gertie Englund notes similarly that "All gifts, whatever they are, are called the eye of Horus. The eye of Horus is the greatest gift of all and constitutes as it were the quintessence of gifts. That is why the *wedjat* eye is offered in a variant of the ordinary offering scene."[17]

The purpose of the presentation of offerings, often described as a *do ut des* ("I give so that you give...") or reciprocal relationship, is further clarified by Emily Teeter's research.[18] Only in some Ramesside Period texts is there actually the suggestion of a reciprocal relationship; generally in pre-Ramesside texts, sometimes in Ramesside texts, and generally again in texts from the early Kushite Period and onward, the royal figure's action of offering does not guarantee or even allude to further divine action. Instead, the offering is a kind of rendering to the god of what the god's gifts have brought about. This understanding of the offering as inherently right or natural rather than a demand or repayment is underscored by other textual points she adduces.

The fact that the offerings themselves and the action of offering them is highly symbolic, and the understanding that the offering act is not an entreaty or request, help to explain why offering bronzes adhere to the traditional symbolic language of postures, and why it is neither compelling nor meaningful to introduce a more explicitly directed pose. The reinterpretation of the offering relationship as more one of *do ut des* compulsion in the later New Kingdom might be investigated as one factor contributing to the more directed postures seen in a few offering statuettes, including two Third Intermediate period bronzes.[19] The more explicitly urgent poses seen in some other stone statuary and in relief depictions may be due to the specific action depicted, which usually does not involve the great offerings; some distinction in context of use vis-à-vis the small bronze statuary which actually stood in the sanctuary and near the deity may also be a factor.

The gesture with arms extended and palms facing inwards

Among the preserved kneeling bronzes the attitude with arms extended and palms facing inward first definitely occurs in the Third Intermediate Period (cat. 15/TIP-13 and cat. 237/TIP-10). Perhaps already in the Third Intermediate Period it becomes as important as the type which holds an offering, and it becomes more important from the Kushite Period onwards, whether evaluated numerically or by other criteria

[16] Teeter, *Maat*, p. 78.
[17] P. 57 of Englund, "Gifts."
[18] Teeter, *Maat*, pp. 55–59 and 76–79.
[19] Bronzes noted include cat. 13/TIP-11 and cat. 57. See again Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, pp. 8–19, about the leaning poses in the Ramesside period.

such as size and quality of the statuary, or the presence of an inscribed name.

By association, the type is often referred to as an offering type, but this exclusive designation does not seem to bear scrutiny. The hand position is not open upwards like that of statues providing the great offerings discussed above, such as wine, *maat*, *wedjat*, and perhaps also offering tables. Other kinds of offerings included, of course, a wide range beyond the "great" or "responsive" offerings, particularly various items for the care of the god and symbolic or mystical objects associated with the god. Some of these could have been held with hands forward palms inward.[20]

However, it is very odd that if really meant to show an offering which the king had the power to hold and transmit, there is not even one instance of direct evidence among the many bronzes with this gesture to clarify its meaning: there is never any physical evidence of an attempt to render such offerings in bronze in the form of a unified cast or of fittings for attachment.[21]

Stone statuary and relief depictions of kings or statuary show numerous instances of a very similar gesture, though the arms of the king in these cases are shown as if extending beyond his knees and actually touching an object. Among stone royal statuary with the arms forward and parallel palms inward gesture, there are: 1) relatively small statues showing kneeling kings who with arms forward and palms inward touch large unguent vessels in the early New Kingdom; 2) royal or princely statues with the same gesture holding an emblem, naos or divine image against the lap beginning in the New Kingdom; 3) statues in the running kneel pose who hold their hands in similar gestures during certain performances.[22]

Relief depicts royal kneeling statuettes with touching gestures that parallel those seen in stone statuary and those seen in bronze with absent object, and also two types of gestures that seem to translate to more or less the same as this gesture since they are used alongside depictions of statuettes with the gesture. The first variant may show one or both arms actually bent upward from the elbows with hands touching the potent element, in the second the hands may actually curl around to grip the potent element. The following are the types of roles I have noted for statuettes with the gesture that exactly parallels that of bronze and stone statuary or with the related gestures just described: 1) statuettes of a king so posed with hands on either side of a baldachin pole on a sacred bark, first appearing in relief at the end of the 12th or the early 13th dynasty and continuing in representations of barks thereafter;[23] 2) abundant examples of small statuary placed at the edge of offering tables and holding tall loaves,[24] of small kneeling royal statuary placing their hands on either side of

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[20] The small statuette holding a large unguent pot or an actual king offering a shrine seem to hold a very similar hand position. The latter is depicted in Gardiner and Calverly, *Sethos I* III, 60.

[21] Others have noticed this problem and remarked on the possibility that the statues are not missing offerings but have a different meaning altogether, such as protection. See, Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, pp. 292–3; Russmann, "Royal Statuette," note 6 on pp. 149–50, with a number of observant remarks and her disagreement with Roeder's suggestion that the figures held naoi or divine figures; von Droste, *Liebieghaus* II, pp. 242–3.

[22] See Appendix 1, sections on New Kingdom, Royal Kneeling Statues in the Standard Pose holding other Offerings and Royal Kneeling Statues in Non-Standard Kneeling Poses.

[23] See Appendix 1, Middle Kingdom section where the first instance shows the king with one hand up and one down and definitely gripping the baldachin pole, and for small kings protecting the baldachin on the deck of the bark during the New Kingdom onward, see Traunecker, *Achôris*, plates.

[24] Small royal kneeling figures holding huge conical loaves are shown in relief at the edge of offering

unguent vessels, and of small statuary with hands on either side of cult vessels, fetishes, standards, and baldachin poles, for example, in the Seti temple at Abydos, types of representations which continue with some variation and lapses discussed below through the Ptolemaic Period;[25] 3) representations of either the king himself or a royal statuette with one or both hands up behind the statue of Min carried in procession or placed in a shrine, depicted at Medinet Habu.[26]

The second group including objects touched/held by statuettes with this gesture requires some further remarks:

– In regard to the king holding a loaf at the edge of an offering table, a statuette with this gesture may have been used for this purpose, but it seems to me equally likely this may be a metaphorical depiction.
– In connection with the vessels touched by royal statuettes with this gesture, it is useful to distinguish a class whose ritual force is not apparent from those whose ritual potency is clear, like the ram-headed vases of Amun. These last definitely have ritual force and can be discussed in connection with the other various kinds of cult or ritual objects or statues touched by the royal statuettes. However, other statues of kings with overlarge vessels seem to me to constitute a very particular class of representations. This is a class where the nature of the object proffered as one which contains and pours, aside from any cult meaning it has, lends itself to and dominates the whole composition (just as it dominates the composition by its overlarge size), enabling a kind of metaphorical association of the figure with the vessel's handle.[27] On consideration, it is possible that the kings holding overlarge ointment vessels are types of very elaborate vessels, like the stone sculptures of kings holding unguent

tables in the Amarna period as noted by Aldred ("Image," p. 46 and n. 46) and subsequently. Similar figures in a running kneel pose also appear on offering tables in the Abydos Temple of Seti I (*e.g.*, Gardiner and Calverly, *Sethos I* II pl. 23), and elsewhere. These figures seem to be seen only on the offering tables that take the form of thrones, a group which appears mainly (only?) so far as I know in the late 18th Dynasty and Ramesside Period, where they reiterate the identification of the altar with the king (Baines, *Fecundity*, p. 336–339). Given the metaphorical nature of the particular depiction, it may be problematic to argue as Aldred does that this use regularly existed in fact and as far back as the Old Kingdom, but something of this nature is certainly attested in the time of Ramesses III (Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* I, p. 229 (5,12). The figure could be related to the small ritual figures seen with earlier offering lists (Vandier, *Manuel* IV, pp. 106–113).

25 Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I* I pl. 7 and III pl. 7 protecting fetishes and standards, III pl. 5 on a bark and on a small table with a bouquet. At Medinet Habu, kings hold the bottom of the Nefertem and Sokar poles and other cult standards (Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV pl. 196b and pl. 224, *Medinet Habu* VI pl. 463), and frequently hold either unguent offerings or various kinds of temple furniture such as vases (*Medinet Habu* V pl. 322 and passim). At Dendara, two small kings hold, protect, or embrace one of the six Hathor "pillars" in the crypt which is on the temple axis (Cauville, "Statues cultuelles," p. 87).

26 In Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV pl. 209, a priest carries the statue as Ramesses III walks behind with two hands up against the statue; in pls. 196a and *passim*, statuettes stand behind and brace, generally with one arm up and one down, the Min image carried in procession; in pl. 207 a standing statuette with bracing hands stands behind the Min image in a chapel. The king has walked behind the Min statue in procession since the Middle Kingdom, as illustrated in the Chicago publication of Medinet Habu: in plates 209 through 212, scenes from monuments of Senwosret I, Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, and Seti I, the king walks behind the carried Min statue with one hand up; Herihor seems not to have walked behind the statue, see pl. 216, but to have approached it from the front. It should be acknowledged that the Min statue is a bit unusual in that it is carried in procession unveiled unlike most cult images.

27 The association is certainly known in other cultures; see for very interesting thoughts on this matter in Greek bronzes: Mertens, "Human Figure." Bronze kings could also be associated with such objects – kings are certainly attached to censers which are a related strongly functional type of object.

vessels as large as themselves which are seen in the early New Kingdom.[28]

These two types of possible offering uses for such statuettes aside, it emerges clearly that many small kings displaying this gesture are meant to touch/hold cult objects. The precise significance of this touching gesture toward cult objects, apparently a fairly important one to judge from the fact that it is represented as performed virtually exclusively by kings or their statues[29] and from the importance of some of the bronze statuary of kings, needs to be explored.

It is possible to associate two ancient Egyptian terms and a certain kind of ritual purpose with the gesture by extrapolating from private statuary. The same kind of gesture and pose is seen sometimes in non-royal stone statuary beginning with Senenmut in which the private figure, much larger than the associated elements, touches cult apparatus, shrines and figures. Reevaluation of Ramesside and later statues of the type with their texts by Jacobus van Dijk, growing out of his work on such statues from Saqqara tombs, has allowed him to interpret the statues by that time at least as oriented to the afterlife and mimicking royal offices vis à vis the divine image and objects in the daily cult of the temple.[30] While the whole history of the type

[28] In fact, it seems to me doubtful a) that the unguent vessel constitutes a potent element in its own right since it is not seen in the various kinds of displays or storage registries of potent items that are discussed below, or b) that the small statuette of a king touching an unguent vessel strictly qualifies as depiction of an offering or ritual act, since no depiction of the king actually holding an unguent vessel in this way appears in a true offering scene or scene of the king anointing. Only when the king offers unguent in the form of a statuette holding unguent does the gesture appear in the statuette. Moreover, the inverted proportions of king and jar are strange if meant to be a depiction of an actual offering. Possibly statuettes of kings with large unguent vessels are either assimilated to or are really depictions of a particular kind of jar which could be offered, and the meaning of the jar is another matter and may go back to the types of private figures holding large vessels mentioned in Appendix 1. Lurson, "La Typologie des statuettes tenant un vase à onguent," deals with the meaning of the type in the Ramesside period.

[29] The interesting fact that priests can *carry* some images, while it is the king that does the distinctive touching is illustrated in Nelson, *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 209. Of interest in regard to *possibly* some use of the gesture expanded to private/priestly persons and potentially for the discussion of the meaning of the gesture overall are two reliefs from the chapel of the priest Harbes (an individual already mentioned in connection with his bronze statuette LPPt-A in the pose with open palms inward which is usually reserved for kings; for the reliefs, Zivie-Coche, *Giza*, pp. 105–113 and 134; the first relief is shown in her plate 20; the second is partly shown in her plate 19, but the portion of interest here is well-illustrated on plate 53 of Hassan, *The Great Sphinx*). The first relief from the back (north) wall of the chapel shows a virtually full-size Harbes kneeling before Isis and Horus, his arms held before him palm downwards in a reverential pose. The second scene originally from the east side wall of the chapel shows a very tiny Harbes kneeling on the same base as and at the feet of an Osiris statue, and his hands, *contra* Zivie-Coche's statement that their position duplicates the hand position of the first Harbes, are depicted with the thumbs of both hands upward, that is as though the hands were facing inward. Although Harbes, with his forward shoulder curved to follow his forward arm, is not depicted as a statue, this would seem to show Harbes in front of a statue in what has so far seemed to be the protective pose – though not depicted physically touching in the usual way for this gesture in relief. Serapeum stela 176, potentially of the same approximate date, shows a somewhat similarly gesturing figure in front of the Apis (Malinine, *Sérapéum*, no. 176 on plate 48, and discussed on page 135). While acknowledging the factors that make the status of these depictions unclear (the gesture is performed at a distance between figures suggestive of only a symbolic gesture; the gesture is quite rarely associated with private bronzes; Harbes produced quite unusual monuments in other respects), still this evidence might express a sociological evolution and, perhaps more interestingly, could have testimonial relevance if it were certain that the gesture was meant to represent the touching gesture used *frontally* and *with a divine image*.

[30] Van Dijk, "Naophorous," pp. 49–60, strongly sets forth the case for these being mimicking of royal offices and directed toward the afterlife rather than representations of the statue owner's actual activity. Van Dijk gives references to the previous studies of the meaning of the naophorous statues. For studies of the quite restricted access to the type in the 18th Dynasty (Senenmut, Thutmose IV as prince),

is complex, by the Late Period the gesture of the statues is clearly deemed protective and words like "embrace" (*ḥpt*) and "protect" (*mkt*) were used. Van Dijk points to these same words used in the descriptions of the daily temple cult in Ptolemaic texts in connection with revivification of the cult image by the king and protection of the god by the king against chaos during awakening and rebirth.

It is possible the gesture has this meaning in the case of kings holding cult images or objects as we can see them rarely depicted in stone statuary, and it may also have some version of this meaning when used by small royal statuettes acting in relation to cult items. Still significant aspects of the use of small royal statuary with this gesture remain unclear: there is no implication except the Min Festival reliefs of Ramesses III that small royal statuettes directly embraced divine statues or statuettes as protectors. This problem is discussed further below in connection with mounting and display.

All in all, for the documented use of the gesture by small statuary in relation to emblems, fetishes, and at least some kinds of images, some such concept of support, protection, and perhaps maintenance of vitality seems a good working explanation. Perhaps the idea of protection is most appropriate since the small statues seem most frequently depicted behind (so far as it can be determined), or in certain situations to encircle, the cult object rather than to frontally embrace it in the way a king opening a naos would embrace the cult image therein.[31] On the other hand, the idea of revivification and the idea of protection as in protection of potency are not too far apart in Egyptian thought as Van Dijk also points out, so it is probably wrong to be too restrictive in interpretation.

That the item protected is never depicted as an integral part of the bronze statuette is then explained by the fact that the bronze statuettes are not stone embodiments of a ritual or wishful embodiments for the afterlife like the private stone statues, but actual performative statuary. What they hold or embrace is not an offering but a potent element of cult equipment or an aspect of divinity, which has a separate existence.

It seems certain that this bronze type with arms extended and parallel palms inwards flourished from the Third Intermediate Period onwards. Whether, on the other hand, the offering type with *nw* pots actually went out of style in bronze is much less certain because the numbers are not great in any case.

Non-standard gestures

A few examples (e.g., cat. 196/LPPt-19, cat. 222 – possibly rather from a censer – but also cat. 218 and 286, both actually silver), probably datable to the later Late Period and after, are posed with arms extended and palms downwards. This gesture has

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Dorman, *Senenmut*, Appendix 2 is an important resource about Senenmut's statues. See also subsequent reinforcing points about the naophorous type made by Malek, "Saqqara Statue," pp. 117–137, particularly pp. 121–2. He notes the funerary associations of these concepts, where related gestures are certainly found.

[31] Small kneeling statuettes may either encircle an emblem like the Abydos emblem of Ramesses I (Winlock, *Ramesses I*, pls. II–III), or they can be placed adjacent to a cultic object on the side which is away from the ritual performance going on (Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I*, III, pl. 8) or which is away from the larger focal point like the sacred bark (Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I*, II , pl. 5).

been studied and described as expressing “l’adoration dans une crainte respecteuse,” is a frequent attitude of private persons, and is employed by some royal figures in stelae and reliefs from at least the time of Amasis.[32]

A few probably late bronzes show either *arms bent and palms outward* (e.g., cat. 38, 65, 155, 173, 176; standing examples cat. 81, cat. 149/K-36, cat. 191/K37), or *toward the face* (e.g., cat. 132). The first gesture is seen in scenes of adoration, for example, on Serapeum stelae of private persons and also in small bronzes of private persons.[33] The second would normally seem to be a type of mourning gesture, and is not generally known to me among royal or private bronzes.[34]

Among standing bronzes, some show *arms extended downward holding a ring* or what I think may be a survival of the ring-holding gesture (cat. 39/LPPt-3, cat. 50, 74, 97, 136, 228, 270, 276, 277).[35] One apparently preserved ancient grouping shows the king in front of an animal deity (cat. 74).

Indications for the mounting and display of the bronze statuary

Because of the tangs, virtually none of the small royal statuary under discussion here is capable of standing without a base, so such must have existed, presumably for storage and certainly for display.[36] Excepting possibly the Louvre Taharqa and a few bronzes with non-standard offerings or gestures, mentioned again below in their places, no indication of original display bases for these bronze kings is preserved. In fact, not even bases which might be considered storage bases are preserved. This is unlike the situation for divine statuary.[37]

This absence of bases for kings in particular is very striking. The implication is surely that by and large the instances of a god offered to by a royal statuette or an emblem attended by a royal statuette were conjunctions that happened only in the space of ritual or readiness for ritual in the context of a temple and did not last beyond that time.[38] Such statuettes have to be understood as possessing real ritual force, and

32 Clère, “Vizir Bakenrenef,” pp. 25–33, esp. pp. 30–31; a Serapeum stela showing Amasis in this position is Louvre 192. Royal images with this gesture may be seen in Davies, *Hibis* pls. 2 VI and IX, 4 VI, and in Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 46D.

33 For Serapeum stelae, see e.g. no. 222 on plate 50, Malinine, *Sérapéum*; for private offerers, see Roeder para. 678–684, or Brooklyn 57.165.8.

34 See Dominicus, *Gesten*, p. 67 no. 3.5. One large private bronze with this pose has been published, but has many unusual features: Müller, *Metallfigur*.

35 Kings associated with, but not holding, *shen* rings are seen in Davies, *Hibis* 2 IX, and gesturing toward empty cartouche rings in 2 VI and 4 VI, but I have not noted the *shen* as an offering in reliefs.

36 Some standing bronzes that seem to me to be mainly later have small integral bases, but these are scarcely large enough to balance the statue on its own, and, in cases where I have had the opportunity to check, they generally have a tang under the base (e.g. cat. 73/LPPt-30, cat. 130/LPPt-34). A few very small kneeling kings, likely to come from censers, sit on small platforms which would have then been attached by some means next to the cup like cat. 239; one related example in the Louvre sits on a bronze sheet with holes presumably for attachment (cat. 271).

37 For example, even leaving aside the question of bronzes in museums, quite a number of bronze divinities from the Saqqara excavations seem to have been preserved with bases, whether or not these are their display bases or simply storage bases of some kind; see for example Emery, “North Saqqara,” plates 5–9. With the upcoming publication of bronzes from the deposits in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqara, it may be possible to say something more about the types, materials, and use of bases for bronze statuary.

38 The latter scenario – that bronze kings were in a fixed direct juxtaposition for the duration of their

therefore it makes sense that groupings with divinities were not allowed to extend beyond the period of ritual activity – leaving such groups permanently together and burying them together would be to leave a spiritual charge flowing rather than trying to quiet and enshroud it, and would be a kind of diminishment of the actual sacred events that went on in the temple.[39]

For the practical question of the display of the statuettes in the temple, even if bases were preserved, it might be difficult to deduce much from it: the bronzes on such bases can still easily be joined into larger groups or they can be removed from the bases and fit into other groups.[40] Therefore, indications for original display have to be obtained from other types of evidence, mainly reliefs, with the various attendant problems.[41]

Three basic kinds of *display* are possible, and the evidence for each will be reviewed, with an emphasis on the better attested kneeling poses:

1. the kings could be independently mounted on their own bases
2. the kings could be inserted into the same base as another element, presumably a god or a cult item, in a simple direct group
3. the kings could be part of a larger complex grouping arranged on a single base or platform.

Kings independently mounted on their own bases

Kneeling *protecting* kings never appear in relief depictions without an associated element and so can only be considered here in a limited way.

While kneeling offering kings presumably mounted singly on their own bases

service in a temple – might provide an account for the damage to tangs and feet seen in a significant number of instances. The bronzes might have become difficult to remove from bases in which they were seated over a long period of time.

39 Our expectation of seeing these groupings is in the first place based on our own schematic understanding, and then reproduces itself in problematic restorations or pastiches. The expectation is to some extent also based on private votive offerings which include preserved instances of a private individual opposite a god (e.g. Müller, *Metallfigur*, pl. 17a; I have not sought to verify any particular example, but certainly there are a good many preserved; usually in worshiping poses and infrequently in offering poses). Royal and private statuary can hardly be mapped on to one another, however, and different rules of symbolism and decorum certainly apply; the private bronze groups, like the stone statuary van Dijk illuminates, might summarize a wished-for relationship rather than being involved in doing all the things that make it work as the royal ritual statuary is. By this standard, one could also suggest that the preservation of non-dismantled groups incorporating kings in non-standard poses represent a less stringent decorum particular to the type or to the place they were displayed.

40 See the discussion of Karomama and a second large female bronze in connection with complex groups below: Karomama's large lengthily inscribed base seems to describe her use also on Amun's bark, and another of the large female bronzes apparently had two mounting systems, tangs and a boss on her back. Another possible example is the golden Amun, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 26.7.1412: he almost certainly had some mounting system under his feet, which show signs of something having been removed, but he also had a kind of loop behind his crown.

41 The relationship of representations of statuary to actual statuary that may have existed is problematic because, as is well-established, correspondences intended by the ancient Egyptians are not indicated by one to one matches, and also because, owing to differential preservation and poor understanding, it is quite difficult to actually assemble material that is relatively certainly intended to match. One very well-laid out examination of the question is that by Hourig Sourouzian involving a number of statues of Seti I, Sourouzian, "Statues et représentations."

are certainly listed and occasionally shown as donations,[42] and occasionally in temple inventories,[43] only if individual kneeling statuettes appeared in scenes of ritual activity could we be sure they were so displayed.

There is some evidence possibly suggesting that small kings could be displayed in this way, though it is often difficult to evaluate size. Certain kinds of New Kingdom offering tables may display small royal offering statuettes as discussed above. Sanctuary reliefs at Hibis Temple seem to represent some stage between an inventory and a cult depiction, and include an instance of a royal offering statue on a separate base adjacent to the god's base.[44] The naos of Saft el-Hinna, dating to the reign of Nectanebo I, although on the one hand a sort of inventory or listing of images associated with the temple in which the naos stood, also seems to reconstitute an actual cult grouping at the front of the long rows of divine images: a kneeling king on a high base holding an offering table is placed opposite a lower base on which stand two statues of divine children, possibly representing Shu and Tefnut according to Roeder.[45]

Moreover, certain kneeling kings seem to have had a kind of independent status of their own, which might support the possibility of separate status if not necessarily display:

First, the fact that the gold kneeling statue of the cult founder Pepi I exists in variable groups in the Ptolemaic *pr-wr* sanctuary and crypts at Dendara suggests the statue had a quasi-cult status of its own (even if it may not have been a separate status, since the king seems to share a base with Hathor).[46]

Secondly, the inscription of cat. 57, probably dating to the Third Intermediate Period, seems to refer to the ancestral king Send of Dynasty II, suggesting that the statue itself was revered.

Thirdly, cat. 26/LPPt-12 depicting Apries is associated with thick and long bronze slabs bearing the king's names and epithets, possibly from a naos or a box in which the statuette could have been stored like a cult item itself.

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42 Regarding offering of small statuettes, lists of donations describe single metal statuettes of kings, sometimes incorporating an offering, but do not describe a god included. Textual references to New Kingdom royal metal offering statues are found in Papyrus Harris, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* II, p. 28–29 n. 128 for the basic discussion; see also Naville, *Bubastis* I pl. 51 a royal censing statue from hammered gold and silver.

Representations of offerings of statuettes can show kneeling offering kings individually: for example, Nelson, *Medinet Habu* V, 322; Vassilika, *Philae*, catalogue LCN 3,6, SPX 1–5, DADO 40.

43 Regarding representations or listings of temple storage, kneeling kings are not usually included in the clear temple inventories, an interesting fact in itself. There are numerous other inventories or listings from temples, naoi, and papyri in Egyptian and Greek cited by Cauville, "Statues cultuelles," p. 87 notes 1–3. Of these, the naos of Nectanebo I from Saft el Henna seems to depict one kneeling royal-like divine figure of unclear purport among the gods to whom Nectanebo I addresses himself (Roeder, *Naoi*, CG 70021, pp. 82, no. 25).

44 Davies, *Hibis*, pl. 2 VII. Numerous other groupings with many types of royal statues are depicted at Hibis. Chassinat, *Dendara*, pl. 864 shows a kneeling non-royal (?) offering figure on a separate base before a falcon image.

45 Roeder, *Naoi*, pp. 84–5, no. 2.

46 The crypts at Dendara contained a large (1 cubit high) gold kneeling statuette of Pepi I, patron of that temple, offering a statuette of Ihy (Chassinat, *Dendara* V, 159) and sharing the base with three Hathor statues, different from the main cult statue it accompanied in the *pr-wr* sanctuary (Chassinat, *Dendara* III, 75, 85).

Kings in simple direct (*i.e. on the same base*) *groups*

What would seem to be the most striking physical evidence for simple bronze groups of confronted king in the standard offering pose and deity is unfortunately not very helpful. The Louvre Taharqa and Hemen statuette (cat. 22/K-4) is anomalous for a number of reasons discussed in the Kushite chapter. Cat. 186 is a modern grouping. Cat. 70 is not a valid grouping.

On the other hand, evidence of original simple direct groupings is met with in a few instances among kings with other gestures and often in other positions, some probably associated with the very popular animal cults.[47]

Evidence for some kind of direct juxtapositions of some very small bronzes showing the standard gestures, often quite casually made, can be noted in the fact that the statuettes would only be appropriately erect (meaning at least with vertically oriented face rather than oddly tipping downward) if they were mounted so that their knees rested on a second higher element. To that extent they can certainly be said to essentially suggest display directly adjacent to a second element on a higher level. This feature would not determine, however, whether they belonged to simple or complex groupings.

Representational evidence that simple direct groupings existed is provided by occasional large stone survivals like the large group from the Luxor cachette showing Horemhab facing Atum, or the group from the side chambers in the Ptah Temple at Karnak.[48] Moreover, there are infrequent depictions of the presentation or offering of statue groups depicting an offering king and a god.[49] And there are depictions of rituals taking place which involve a group statue composed of a kneeling king confronting a god: in chapels in the Seti Temple at Abydos the king himself is depicted approaching shrines wherein kneeling offering kings, at perhaps half the size of the approaching king, are set on bases with divine statues; at Bubastis booths or shrines set up in a courtyard (?) for the gathering of the gods at the Heb Sed of Osorkon II contain statues of gods and small offering kings on the same base.[50] The example of the precious metal statuette of Pepi and Hathor at Dendara who formed a simple group fixed into the same base in the sanctuary has been noted above.

[47] These pieces are mentioned above in other contexts. There is one example each of a standing king and a kneeling king with palms raised in adoration before gods (cat. 81 before a group composed of an ibis and several human-headed gods; cat. 65 before a now missing Bastet); there is an example of a standing king extending a ring (?) to an ichneumon (cat. 74). I have only closely examined cat. 65, but cat. 81 is excavated, and cat. 74 is on what looks very much like an ancient metal base. Cat. 126 which holds conical pots seems to me to present several problems.

[48] See Appendix 1, section on the New Kingdom, Royal Kneeling Statues in the Standard Pose Offering *Nw* Pots.

[49] Tomb of Sennefer, tp. Amenhotep II, see Eggebrecht, *Aufstieg*, fig. 33, depicts probably a stone example; Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I*, III, 60, depicts the King presenting a small shrine containing Hathor cow statuettes and small kings with *nw* pots before them.

[50] Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I* III, 11, 13, 16; Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. 5. At Deir Rifa a scene shows a priest being garbed near a stand which holds a statue on a base of a standing Ramesses III offering *maat* to Thoth as a baboon (PM IV, 3). An interesting block from a chapel built by Nectanebo II at Bubastis shows three divine figures, presumably statues, each accompanied by a small king, the first with *nw* pots, the second with open hands downward, and the third possibly with an offering table, but the manner of fixing the statues is not at all clear (Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 46D; more clearly viewable in a photograph in the Metropolitan Museum of Art archives distributed in 1965 by Spink and Sons when it was sold from the collections of the Greenock Museum, Scotland, which had received it from the EEF).

The meaning of the gesture of small statuettes of kings with arms held forward palms inward has been discussed above. Such statuettes are always depicted as offered and used with an associated item;[51] in a rare case one is shown stored with the associated item.[52] These can then be considered simple direct groups of king and potent or sacred item, but they are never shown additionally combined with a confronted divinity as though they were offering statuettes. Based on the discussion of the meaning of the gesture above, though no associated object is ever preserved, the bronze kings posed in this way might be the small statuettes of kings who touch bouquets, cult fetishes or standards, and at least certain kinds of images. These can be termed simple direct groups, but I will call them intensifying groups since the effect of the grouping has a stronger singular emphasis than the offering groups.

Once again, however, conjectures as to the use of kings with parallel palms inward are not entirely satisfactory. The great popularity of the type in the first millennium and the physical importance of some of the statuettes shown with this gesture should probably be considered a reflection of the significance of the objects they held.[53] There is very little evidence to identify whether these significant objects were simply those that had always been and continued to be depicted in relief – objects and emblems connected with deities including processional items discussed next – or whether the repertoire might have changed somewhat in line with the considerable religious changes in the first millennium, possibly being expanded to further uses in the direction of images of deities and their avatars.

Complex groups incorporating kings

Small kneeling statuettes, both offering and protecting, are often shown in an even more expanded context for small statuary, that is as part of groups of several elements. Representational evidence shows these groups mainly associated with barks since the late Middle Kingdom and with processional equipment, whether resting in the sanctuary or in the actual course of procession.[54] There is also one very interesting

[51] For a selection e.g. Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I* I 7, II 5, III 7, 8, 16, holding bouquets and cult equipment with Seti; Nelson, *Medinet Habu* V, 322 kneeling with a bouquet and 331 standing with ornate large vessels; Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. 2 protecting/embracing a standard; on block statue Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG42226, illustrated in Fazzini, *Iconography*, pl. 22, embracing the Abydos fetish; Davies, *Hibis*, pl. 32, with the poles supporting the Nefertem pillar.

[52] Chassinat, *Dendara* V, pl. 418 shows six sistra, one on a base also holding two small kneeling figures, presumably kings.

[53] E.g., cat. 36/K-13, or cat. 26/LPPt-12 - Apries with his box.

[54] The earliest instance of a depiction of a kneeling king associated with a bark is discussed in Appendix 1: Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period, with some references to studies of barks. For a short summary, see Kitchen, "Barke,", coll. 619–625. The earliest portable bark was probably the Sokar bark. Processional barks at Karnak from the time of Senwosret I are attested by remains of a bark station there, see Traunecker, "Rapport préliminaire," pp. 121–126. Elaboration of the barks, their equipment and statuary belongs in general to the New Kingdom to judge from reliefs. For a chronological survey of Theban processional barks into the Ptolemaic Period and for a discussion of the physical equipment see Traunecker, *Achôris*, pp. 77–85; Christina Karlshausen has studied the evolution of processional barks, see "L'Évolution de la barque processionelle," "Une barque d'Ahmès-Néfertari," and "L'Iconographie." Numerous depictions are found in major temples such as Luxor, Abydos, Dendara, Edfu, and so on, and may be located in the appropriate volumes of Porter-Moss. The barks apparently remained fully rigged inside the sanctuary, see for example the Chapelle Rouge relief showing the Amun bark inside the representation of the bark sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri, illustrated on p. 41 of *Geheimnisvolle*, or the bark

instance of a small shrine with several figures inside offered by Seti.[55]

There are certain kinds of evidence to support the possibility that at least some of such statuary frequently depicted in processional groups is actually small bronze statuary:

First, at Tell Gumaiyima, near Tanis, in what he thought to be a building reused by artisans inside a large temenos Griffith found remains of an elaborately decorated portable shrine equipped with bronze fittings and sockets to accommodate carrying poles, and accompanied by two bronze kneeling kings with palms inward.[56] Second, Macadam proposed that wooden remains associated with gilding and nearby bronze and gold royal statuary at Kawa were the remains of a processional bark; unfortunately, his observations were not first-hand, and, while ingenious and perhaps correct, there is no incontrovertible evidence and the idea remains only a theory.[57] Third, examples of other kinds of cult equipment narrowly associated with barks, for example the standard with the erect royal sphinx and the bronze ram head that forms part of the aegis at the prow of the bark of Amun, are known and are of bronze. The one example having a royal name is a sphinx of the Kushite Period, and would not give good evidence for antecedent periods; however, one erect sphinx has been dated stylistically to the nineteenth dynasty and surely must date either to that period or the Third Intermediate Period, and another may also date to the Third Intermediate

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of Bastet shown on the naos of Saft el-Hinna, see Roeder, *Naoi*, CG 70021, but best visible in Naville, *Saft el Henneh*, pl. 2. For a few examples of other processional equipment with kings, see: at Abydos, Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I*, *passim*, and Winlock, *Ramesses I*; in Bubastis, see note 51; a Dynasty 26 example at Thebes is found in Parker, *Oracle*, pl. 1.

55 Gardiner and Calverley, *Sethos I*, III, 60.

56 Griffith in Petrie, *Nebesheh*, pp. 39–40, entire find pp. 35–47 and pls. 18–21. One of the bronzes has been located and is cat. 67 in this study.

57 The original find was described by Macadam, following Griffith's notes and with his own inserted commentary, on pp.41–2 of *Kawa* II. The chamber east of sanctuary in Temple A is described as having contained a quantity of small objects, but having been plundered and repeatedly churned by sebakh and treasure hunters. "Evidently much valuable material, including a good deal of gold, had been kept there. As far as could be made out there had once been three wooden chests (120,125,161) standing in the N. half of the E. chamber. These were gilded, for a quantity of gold foil with traces of pattern and with wood and gold nails adhering was found there. One piece [Kawa cat. 211] had a cartouche impressed upon it, which we have elsewhere guessed, not very convincingly, to read Kashta-yerike (?), beloved of Amun. Another had part of a Horus name and the legs of a [here drawing of a quail chick hieroglyph]. The area covered by gold fragments and decayed wood was 1.22 x 0.20, which may represent the size of the chests. [here Macadam inserts a footnote: "The number of boxes or chests is not certain. The earliest account in the field-books speaks of a wooden box, but this is later amplified into three chests. The comparatively small width for the length certainly suggests that there was a series of boxes placed in a row, but see also p. 244."]...beads...loose in the sand and presumably dropped by the plunderers was a fine little gold statuette [203] only 3 cm in height...." On the referenced p. 244 Macadam then comments: "Many of the small bronze statuettes, however, seem to me to have once formed part of the ceremonial boat of Amun...most of these little figures are such as were found amongst the Kawa bronzes, especially the aegis-heads and the kneeling kings which flank the central shrine or cabin. There is thus [from the evidence of the bronzes found combined with the evidence of the reliefs] clear evidence for vestiges of ceremonial barks having been in fact present in both Temple A and Temple T, though the excavators hesitated to recognize them.... The evidence of the [aegis] heads found in Temple A, and of the somewhat vague account of a gilded box or boxes covering an area of suspicious shape, long and narrow, seems to me to point in the same way: these were the vestiges of the ceremonial bark." Examination of the Object Register, Provenience list, pp. 118–128 and index 121–2 indicates, not surprisingly given the disturbance, that, the very small gold kneeling king aside, none of the numerous bronze kings found at Kawa were in this immediate area: 2 kneeling kings were discovered in the debris of the Temple A sanctuary, 1 in Temple A area unspecified; 4 standing and 4 kneeling in the Temple T hypostyle bronze find; 2 standing and 2 kneeling in Temple T area unspecified.

Period.[58] Metal – specifically silver – statuary seems to be indicated on the Seti bark at Abydos to judge from the color.[59] Moreover, the large bronze statue of the God's Wife Karomama seems from inscriptions to have been intended for a bark of Amun, whether a processional bark or a river bark is not clear, and at least one of the other large statues of female cult officiants seems to have had a mounting boss on her back that might have facilitated processional uses.[60] Fourth, and much more generally, it is worthwhile to note that bronze is also used for some other types of explicitly processional equipment, such as the Amarna king (cat. 43/NK-3) and the head standard (cat. 210).

Summary

The absence of physically preserved display evidence for bronze kings strongly suggests such displays were dismantled at the time their installation in the temple ended. In short, the statuettes were believed to have real ritual force which had to be managed and channeled.

While simple interactive groups surely existed, the predilection for imagining all bronze kings as intended for them is not substantiated by evidence. Less rigid or more expansive groupings were also possible. The statuettes are interactive toward divinities or divine objects, but beyond that given emphasis can vary: the interactions can be either offering or intensifying (with protecting kings); a certain emphasis could also sometimes be placed upon the king as an active individual in addition to being placed upon the focus cult image or object; and emphasis can also be upon the ritually charged atmosphere created by cumulative interactions.

Discussion of the type of temple activities in which royal bronzes might have been used

No evidence indicates bronzes in general also served at domestic sites as modern commemorative or devotional statues might,[61] nor so far as we know do they have

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[58] Cat. 23/K-10; another probable Kushite example is cat. 106; cat. 71 has been dated stylistically to the Ramesside Period, while cat 194 is a possible Third Intermediate Period example. A large bronze head of a ram, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 45.2.9, made to be fitted on to a backing such as an aegis, has long been identified as very probably from the prow of a ceremonial bark of Amun.

[59] Other barks may have included gold or bronze statuary to judge from yellow coloring, but it is not possible to be sure gilded wooden statuary is not being shown.

[60] Karomama was used on the bark of Amun as his pilot, see Jacquet-Gordon, "Karomama." An even larger bronze female in the Louvre (N3390) had a boss on her back in addition to mounting provision under her feet (Delange, "Bronze méconnu," p. 69, 72; what were thought to be traces of something similar on the back of Karomama have proven not to be, personal communication from Elisabeth Delange 1/2001).

[61] Bronze statuettes have not, to my knowledge, been found in areas that can convincingly be described as settlement areas, even those belonging to periods of bronze statuettes' great popularity where they might most reasonably be expected. While early excavations may not have shown dependable regard for the evidence encountered from settlement areas, I examined three instances of better documented, and in two cases also more recent, excavations, and find no traces of bronze statuary (although by this examination I cannot discount economic level as a factor): the 21st–26th dynasty houses at Medinet Habu (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* V, pp. 3–16); the Third Intermediate Period settlement area at Ashmunein (Spencer, *el-Ashmunein III. The Town*, pp. 32–43); settlement remains at Elephantine which range over much of the first millennium B.C. (discussed in the regular preliminary excavation reports by Kaiser,

compelling associations with non-royal or royal burials.[62] Rather, bronzes, in general, and kings in particular seem indeed to have been temple statuary. [63] The small bronzes of kings must stood at least some times and at some places in the temple or ritual contexts as enactments of the offering relationship.

A second tier of questions arises as to what were the factors determining where and when in the temple ritual program bronze kings would have been used, however they might have been arranged for display. Here we have to consider the role of small kneeling statuary in general, without being able to specify that it is bronze.[64]

The main purposes of the two types of kneeling royal statuettes that have been identified – kneeling offering and kneeling protecting – are different, although it cannot be strictly disproved that the gesture that is usually to be read as protective may have had some use with certain offerings. The first represents the relationship of the king, as the representative of the community, to the god. The second seems to have more to do with imparting, maintaining or protecting the "life" of the deity or at any rate of items that share somehow in the divine.

Inside the temple

Claude Traunecker's study of divine images in wall depictions observes the many different states and purposes of images of the gods in temples.[65] We should probably not imagine that small royal bronze companions were provided for every divine object or sculptural image in every state or for every purpose. Certainly these factors and also the different basic natures of the divinities affected many aspects of ritual including the desirability or necessity of attendant offering statues.

A few instances can be mentioned where the nature of the divinity or the state/location of the divine image might be factors:

For the first, it is possibly a reflection of Osiris' particular nature or state that the enshrined images of Osiris in the inner Osiris Hall at Abydos seem to be accompanied

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particularly "Elephantine, 15/16. Grabungsbericht," pp. 167–174, "17/18. Grabungsbericht," pp. 210–231, and "19/20. Grabungsbericht," pp. 170–181; the final report is in preparation, I. Nebe, *Ausgrabungen in der Weststadt 1987–1992. Die Funde. Elephantine Bd. XXII*.) These settlements produced traces of some kinds of household or "local" religious/magical practices, in general quite modest and with no evidence of bronze statuary, or, indeed, of significant numbers of cult or worship appurtenances in general. The finds are similar to the finds in other house or community shrines described mainly for the late New Kingdom by Barry Kemp in "How Religious."

62 Bronze finds in the area of tombs are usually explained as deposits of material from nearby temples (such is a possible explanation noted for the group published in Thomas, *American Discovery*, pp. 211–212, entry by Joyce Haynes), although examination might discover some meaning in the choice of deposition spot. A wax group of the king and the goddess Maat, surmised to prefigure a bronze casting, was found among the foundation deposits of KV 4 (Ramesses IV) at Thebes (Reeves, *Great Discoveries*, p. 217). The communicative role of royal tombs could certainly have made them a site for deposition of some kinds of private votives, though the phenomenon has sofar been noted for New Kingdom tombs when bronzes are not among these votives (see Keller, "Private Votives in Royal Cemeteries").

63 See similarly Teeter, *Maat*, p. 78 who deduces from evidence in the *maat* offering formula and in the placement of the offering scenes that the scenes are viewed from the reference point of the gods and are for their consumption.

64 Small statuettes are usually described or represented as though they are made of precious metal, but, making the matter rather impenetrable, bronze kings are very very often gilded.

65 Traunecker, "Observations." He identifies one major distinction between "culte manifesté" and "culte latent" (pp. 85–6).

by offering statues. It may be that the particular nature of Min Kamutef is partly responsible for his being similarly cosseted by offering and protecting statuary, but, on the other hand, his is also a processional image and processional images as seen in their barks and shrines and other processional items are very frequently heavily attended.

For the second, certain physical circumstances can be identified where small royal statuary might be used. The simple offering relationship between king and god in an antithetical pair must have stood somewhere and at least sometimes in a temple shrine, chapel, sanctuary as an enactment or kind of substitute for the ritual relationship of king and god. From the time of Ramesses III the presence of royal offering statuettes inside a naos housing Ptah, Sakhmet, and Nefertum is documented.[66] But, even bearing in mind the small size of the statuary, there would seem to be an inherent element of redundancy and awkwardness in placing a royal statuette in front of a statue involved in active cult: although the king himself might not be present, the priest as king's representative had to approach the cult statue and minister to it continually during the performance of the daily cult. However, the weight of such an objection is very difficult to evaluate when we know so little of ritual and taste,[67] and it may well be the layers of iteration were desirable. Certainly a few scenes seem to show just this: Seti I at Abydos offers to exactly such antithetical (and rather large) groups of kneeling king and god, and a large gold statue of Pepi I sits on the base of the cult image of Hathor at Dendara.

At the same time the mobility of the elements in this last arrangement is clear. Pepi's statue is also in the crypts (where the main cult statue of Hathor does not seem to be kept at all) on a base with three other statues of Hathor. Moreover, the sanctuary representation indicates and the actual measurements provided alongside confirm that the arrangement of the king and goddess is much too long to fit in the naos before which it sits. Indeed, even the statuette of the goddess herself is much too high to fit inside with her base and crown on.[68]

Possibly the particular circumstances of the cited instances of groups with offering kings are relevant: the antithetical group is shown either in ancillary chapels, inside shrines, or as apparently only fully composed at certain occasions.[69] It is difficult to suggest any more specific context without knowing more than we really do about cult images and without having a more articulated sense of the actual mechanics of cult and festivals.

A role in the sanctuary and chapels for small royal protective statuary is also likely. Royal statues with the protective gesture are often placed behind cult items and at least certain kinds of divine images so far as the evidence is clear. Perhaps arranged in this way they guarantee the protection of the divine vitality while leaving

[66] Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* I, p. 287 (47,6–7).

[67] Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, pp. 69–71 makes a similar logistical objection to the possibility of the bark statuette also being the cult statuette and the object of the daily cult performances, as it was also the object of cult performances at Abydos.

[68] As Cauville ("Statues," p. 77) notes, the crowns and bases, whose separate heights are sometimes even noted, seem often not to have been accommodated by the naoi and were presumably removable.

[69] Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, pp. 98–103 discusses the subordinate rites for the chapels surrounding the sanctuary at Dendara; the group of Taharqa and Hemen (cat. 22/K-4) might be thought of as a fortuitously preserved group for an ancillary – in this case provincial – shrine.

the cult item frontally open either so that it can be approached for cult performances or so that visual access to the cult item is not blocked for the cult image itself.

Processions

On the other hand, small statuettes seem to be deployed all around processional fetishes and images whether or not the processional images and fetishes are the object of larger ritual performances. Relatively speaking, the purpose of the figures associated with processional equipment can be envisioned in fairly clear terms.[70] This is mainly because many layers of complex mythology and accreted cultic practices – as obscure to us as they may have been to the people without access to the temple – are bypassed, and a reasonably explicit visual narrative substituted. Here the interaction between the temple and the world around it is metaphorically enacted through the movement of cult images and items out of the temple and into the world.

The bark offers the most elaborated example. The bark itself both stood in the sanctuary and moved out of the sanctuary; its movement outside the temple dramatizes one of the main themes embodied in the temple, that is the cosmogonic theme of watery creation. Even as the procession constituted the reenactment of the drama, however, the divine image had to be insulated and protected at the most basic level; thus, during its travels it was accompanied by the offerings and encircled by the protection of the royal, divine, and amuletic figures seen on the bark.

In the temple that acknowledgement and protection was created mainly by the cult and the walls.[71] On the fragile stage of the bark, grouping and juxtaposition of statuary, particularly gesturing statuary, substitutes in a way for both the temple walls and the cult – statuary with its dimensionality is able to establish a protected, charged or sacred space for the deity present there. Moreover, for the small, essentially vulnerable cult image that has been exposed in the human scale world, small attending statuary reconstitutes some of the god's proper dominance.

Evidence for the range and intentions of donors of royal bronzes

The major part of the corpus displays overall adherence to formal canons, and the production of virtually any bronze requires considerable technical control and skill. Both factors imply they were produced within an authorized realm, whether royal or temple-attached workshops. Aspects of variation in style, detail, and quality are most interestingly discussed in this framework rather than in terms of donor.

However, because of the nature of private donation practices in the first millennium, from a cultural and religious point of view the question of the participation of royal bronze statuary in this general private votive phenomenon needs to be considered.

Private offerings to temples of royal statuary and shawabtis are known, though rarely, during the 18th Dynasty and continue during the Ramesside period; offerings

[70] O'Connor, *City and Cosmos*, forthcoming, chapter 8, ms. pp. 20–24. My description here is based heavily on his conceptualization and evocative description of these cult activities.

[71] See O'Connor, *City and Cosmos*, ms. pp. 15–16 for a discussion of the temple as a protective casket and the role of superadded decoration, with references to other work.

in the form of lands, bronze divine statuary, or temple equipment are particularly well-recorded for the period beginning with the Third Intermediate Period.[72] From the Third Intermediate Period onward inscriptions indicate that in some cases the private offerer seeks through the gift direct access to the god for presentation of prayers and wishes.[73] This is part of the widespread phenomenon termed personal piety, and the donations are often termed votive offerings.[74] Inscriptions also provide evidence that at least in some cases in the 26th dynasty private offerers presumably obtained and certainly presented bronze deity statuettes through the agency of a temple subaltern.[75] Bronze temple equipment was also included among the type of gifts private persons might give to the temple, including at least one censer bearing a rather poor royal figure, the shaft inscribed in demotic with a private offerer's (unreadable) name, given as a donation to the Isis cult.[76] Theoretically it is possible that bronze kneeling kings with offering and protecting gestures might have been offered by private persons as temple gifts. There are simply, however, no bronze kings of that kind retaining original bases with inscriptions to give a better indication.[77]

Turning, however, to Saqqara, the specific evidence only tends to underscore the

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72 See Helck, "Opferstiftung," coll. 590–4, particularly 592; note also the remarks of Kemp, "How Religious," pp. 34–36. See, additionally, Bryan, "Steatite," pp. 60–82, esp. her conclusions on p. 70.

73 See Brunner, "Votivegaben," coll. 1077–1081 for a brief review. Davies, "Sacred Animal," especially pp. 122–4, discusses the phenomenon at Saqqara where it is well-represented, and refers to other studies based on the religious phenomena demonstrated by the Saqqara material. De Meulenaere, "Bronzes de donation," discusses a group of particularly revelatory inscriptions on bronzes and relates them to Dimitri Meeks' study of private land donations. This is supplemented and developed in some aspects by a recent study of a another example, Colin, "Fondateurs."

74 The phenomenon of private participation in cults and of private offerings in the Late Period, though frequently referred to, is very difficult to isolate and discuss. It is hard to get any sense of the social and institutional structures which support such practices because it involves people little visible in the evidence. Pinch, *Votive* makes a very thorough study of one particular class of votives found mainly in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and in the process provides a very thoughtful discussion of all the involved issues and a structure which helps in examining the phenomena at other periods in Egyptian culture; see particularly her pages 323–360, "The place of votive offerings in popular religion." Barry Kemp, "How Religious" provides a transhistorical evaluation of religious behavior in ancient Egypt that would be important in contextualizing late practices of donating metal statuary which constituted donations, as he says (p. 35), of "real value." Treatments of the evidence from the Late Period in particular have been referred to above, with the exception of the most radical interpretation of the evidence by Kessler (*Die Heiligen Tieren*), who holds that the animal cults that seem most prototypically popular were, in fact, state mandated and rather rigorously state controlled. Davies, "Sacred Animal," provides a critique of this view, in turn, acknowledging that royal involvement in the form of organization or exploitation is likely, but pointing out that a considerable body of evidence supporting personal relation to such cults exists.

75 De Meulenaere, "Bronzes de donation."

76 For temple equipment donated by private persons, see Green, *Temple Furniture*, already cited, p. 3; for the censer with royal figure donated by a private person, see cat. 58.

77 However, kings are often simply designated as private votives based on the existence of many of poor quality (e.g. Müller, "Kniende König"). But quality is not a good guide (e.g. cat. 16/TIP-15 and cat. 121/K-19 are both of poor quality, but unlikely to have been private votives it seems to me). And, in any event, it is important to maintain the conceptual distinction between royal figures, whoever the offerer might have been, and private figures (priests?) offered as votives. Royal figures and private figures inherently have different spheres of activity, and it has to be emphasized that typological similarities are not necessarily similarities of meaning. For example, confronted groups are attested among bronzes depicting private persons with a god, and must have been offered and displayed in that way somewhere, while I have suggested above that groups incorporating royal figures in the standard poses must have been dismantled when removed from "service." It is not possible to directly relate the two, which presumably occupied much different spheres of meaning and efficacy within the temple world. (Private offerers seem in general not to hold the standard poses, though one or two seem to have *nw* pots, and very

difficulty of the question of whether kings in the standard poses in particular were offered as private votives, or whether they were actually provided by the king or by the temple itself. Because of the controlled EES excavations at the Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis, this is the site where the late votive phenomenon has its most accessible manifestation, and where there is some hope that better understanding will eventually be gained. While a great many deity statuette offerings and mummified animal offerings have been found, and while a good many bronze kings have provenances that might suggest Saqqara or have been assumed to come from Saqqara,[78] in fact, evidence from the controlled EES excavations at the Saqqara Sacred Animal Necropolis suggests (a) that royal bronzes do not occur very frequently among the bronzes found in those deposits, and (b) the bronze deposits in that area, including those in which the kings do occur, have many different types of explanations.[79] For example, to some extent, the area of the Sacred Animal Necropolis may have served as a burial ground for equipment surviving from Memphite temples after invasions and depredations by the Assyrians or Persians. This is by no means to say bronze kneeling kings with offerings or the protective gesture are never associated with votive practices of the Late through Ptolemaic periods, but simply that discrimination among types and avoidance of assumptions is called for.

General Remarks

Small bronze royal statuary is especially weighted toward depicting ritual acts. It employs particularly clear and symbolic poses to do so rather than emphatically active poses or poses of entreaty, emphasizing both communication of meaning and the balanced and ordained actions which support the ordered world.

The hand gestures of the standard kneeling types either explicitly enact the "great" offerings which indicate a rendering to god of what god has been produced, or they seem to imply protection, perhaps sometimes with the notion of maintenance of divine vitality included. There may be a shift from the first toward the second in bronze, though presumably the function of the first was taken up elsewhere. Accounting for the range of uses of the second gesture at the time of its greatest popularity, however, is complicated by the lack of contemporary archaeological or clearly germane pictorial evidence.

The offering kings served a divine image directly, but various emphases could be incorporated. The protective gesture is appropriate for protection of cult objects and certain kinds of divine images. These royal statuettes seem to be actual performative statuary preserved as elements of ritual conjunctions dismantled when removed from use.

Viewed another way, both types of statuettes certainly acted as protectors of divine force. Probably their small size and material seemed proportionate and related

frequently have back pillars which may imply they are meant to be statues rather than ritual actors; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, pp. 504–509, discusses these types, but also points out he encounters many groups he does not trust as ancient.)

78 See the provenance index.

79 For just a suggestion of the complexity of the Saqqara deposits see Smith, "Introduction," especially pp. xxxi-xxxv in Hastings, *Sculpture*. Regarding bronze kings in the Saqqara deposits, personal communication from H.S. Smith, letter of January 15, 1998.

to that of the cult image and one desirable way of communicating with it. The offering statuette stabilized the deity in its relation with the world by rendering an orderly productive universe, the protective statuette would have activated or protected divine forces of certain kinds. Different occasions for employment can be suggested, but, in particular, processions of the cult image and cult items outside the temple would seem to require exactly these qualities.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has dealt in detail with stylistic and iconographic development in bronze royal statuary, and with evidence for role. The result is a large organized corpus of royal bronze statuary that provides a basis for further attributions of royal bronzes and should also have implications for the organization and study of private and divine bronze statuary. This is, in fact, the first large organized corpus of bronze statuary. Other studies have concentrated on earlier periods or types with short chronological ranges as were discussed in the introduction. One great advantage of the approach taken here is that bronze royal statuary is seen to be a corpus with its own history and development, its own sphere of importance within the temple, and expressive of a particular network of artistic influences.

Individual chapters provide focused consideration of the development for a period, charts summarizing datings and basic iconographic features of statuary belonging to a given historical period are found at the end of the dating discussion in each chapter, and are followed by appraisal of stylistic and typological implications. Another chapter has dealt globally with evidence for the role of the small statuary. Here it is useful to briefly take a broader view of the corpus of small royal bronze statuary.

Distribution of datable examples

The catalog of bronzes identified for consideration in this study includes 301 examples. Of these, 14 were included though considered problematic or judged forgeries, and another 27 ancient bronzes are generally attributable to the Kushite / Napatan / Meroitic cultural complex with more or less certainty as to date;[1] if these groups are excluded, 260 bronzes were under consideration for ancient datings. Besides the pieces assigned period reference numbers and treated as exemplars (e.g., K-1), a number of other pieces were mentioned in the text or in footnotes within the particular period discussions as showing features identified for that period. Below I have tabulated the bronzes given datings or probable datings, which number 128. Half of the catalogued bronzes were then datable with some degree of precision. The remaining half of the bronzes were insufficiently accessible, insufficiently specific, or often both, to warrant reliable assignment. This group of undated examples will be discussed again following a general discussion of examples more susceptible to precise dating.

[1] The bronzes attributed generally to the Kushite/Napatan/Meroitic cultural complex were given period reference numbers K-21 through K-47.

Period	Total assigned	Inscribed	Re items with period reference numbers only; suggested not included	
			Kneeling Total/inscribed	Striding Total/inscribed
Old Kingdom	2[1]	1		2/1
Middle Kingdom	5[2]	1	1/10	2/0
New Kingdom	8[3]	6	4/3	4/3
Third Intermediate Period	19 + 8 = 27[4]	14 but only 11 provide certain identification	10/6	6/5
Dynasty 25	20[5]	6+	14/5+	5/0
Dynasty 26	18 + 1 = 19[6]	9	15/6	1/1
Fourth Century through Ptolemaic	18 + 16 = 34[7]			
Dynasty 26 through Ptolemaic	8[8]			
Roman	5[9]			
Totals	128	36+	53/21+	26/10

1 Cats. 93, 94
2 Cats. 85?, 95, 128, 129, 213.
3 Period reference numbers NK-1 through NK-8.
4 Period reference numbers TIP-1 through TIP-19, plus cats. 57, 76, 122, 172, 182, 187, 210, 263.
5 Period reference numbers K-1 through K-20.
6 Period reference numbers LPPt-1 through LPPt-18 plus cat. 139.
7 Period reference numbers LPPt-19 through LPPt-36 plus cats. 47, 67, 86, 100, 111, 116, 195, 207, 218, 239, 259, 286, 289, 290, and probably cats. 54 and 55.
8 Cats. 50, 74, 81, 136, 228, 270, 276, 277.
9 Cats. 142, 189, 215, 241, 265.

Bearing in mind the relative lengths of the periods under consideration and the problems of evidence, the importance of bronzes and kneeling bronzes increases very markedly with the Third Intermediate Period, especially during Phase C as was clear in the particular chapter, and this fairly coherent and focused interest in bronzes seems to span Phase C of the Third Intermediate Period through at least a considerable part of Dynasty 26. There is a certain decline in clearly datable examples from the post-Saite period, but on the other hand a number of less specific examples present themselves as candidates for this period, as discussed in the relevant chapter. The special importance of bronzes in Dynasty 25 seems indisputable, though, of course, these bronzes are often unambiguously datable due to their unusual regalia, so that the number of examples could be somewhat misleading. In addition, it is important to remember that it is unlikely that many of the so far undated bronzes would belong to this period.

Among significant bronzes the kneeling type itself emerges as the main type by the Kushite Period, and probably already by the last phase (C) of the Third

Intermediate Period as is apparent from the closer historical examination in the relevant chapter. It seems fair to say it remains very important during the Saite Period, and then diminishes somewhat in importance thereafter. This is a rather interesting point, demonstrating once again the relative coherence of the Late Third Intermediate Period, Kushite Period, and Saite Period.

Some implications of the style of the bronzes

Examination of the style of the bronzes which present a fairly specific and datable image shows certain broad patterns. During the New Kingdom, it seems the royal features in bronze fairly closely replicate those seen in stone. During the Third Intermediate Period, small bronze royal statuary shows great popularity and a range of figural and facial styles, a general picture that finds some further explanation in the study of the Saite Period bronzes. With Dynasty 25, style seems rather closely standardized, but this is in many regards an exceptional interlude.

Dynasty 26 displays a sober relatively unified overall figural style and even facial style if compared to the Third Intermediate Period,[2] but this stabilization helps to highlight a number of details that range from chronologically unexpected to actually unconventional.[3] The presence of actually non-canonical features points toward a specific character of the bronze corpus: even when a relatively standardized figural and even facial style was asserted, royal bronzes can be made with what seems considerable latitude in terms of details. This is surely the result of the close relationship of bronze manufacture to the relatively independent temples of the first millennium where influences both from a more unitary royal tradition and from local environments could be received and integrated according to many different patterns, depending on the particular historical/political situation but also on the particular temple. The fact that the temple is the node of this network of influences further helps to make sense of some of the seemingly anachronistic features as resulting to some extent from an unstable but closer relationship to temple relief and ritual environments than we are accustomed to think about when dealing with stone statuary.

For the fourth century and later, multiple stylistic patterns seem to exist even among high quality bronzes. Though evaluation is problematic since even stone

[2] It is useful to recall that Roeder (see especially *Bronzewerke*, p. 147ff., p. 187 ff.) postulated that bronzes were made based on wax models compiled from mass produced wax elements of different body parts, and that Raven, "Catalogue Project," claims to have confirmed these observations. If this were true for all periods, we would expect to see a more standardized body form for the Third Intermediate Period, for example, and the very generalized examples discussed immediately below would also not be accounted for. But it may be true beginning at about this time, or in some contexts.

[3] The bronzes which can be stylistically dated to Dynasty 26 suggest more chronological or regional flexibility for individual features (such as the level belt or torso modeling) than seen in stone statuary, demonstrate the presence of certain elements simply not seen in stone statuary at the time (for example, jewelry, earring holes, furrows under the neck, the red crown, or discs on the blue crown), or exhibit features almost non-canonical in stone statuary (the reverse kilt, nemes headdresses apparently without frontlet, the dependent uraeus which, of course, does exist later in the corpus of stone sculptor's models at least). An earlier instance where this sort of inclusion of otherwise non-canonical features can be observed is the coiled uraeus on the nemes headdress during the Third Intermediate Period, while even in the New Kingdom the markedly narrowing belt of Thutmose III (NK-1) anticipates the appearance of that feature in stone statuary.

statuary during these periods is difficult to organize and the period is quite long, the bronzes seem to offer a range of stylistic types that does not map well onto that seen among stone statuary and which is probably a result of a further disjunction between the temple and royal realms at certain levels.

The large group of unassigned bronzes referred to above cannot be characterized briefly. A few of them are impressive bronzes that might respond to closer study, but are far from a known royal image and embedded in complex stylistic problems like cat. 54 and 55 discussed in the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period chapter. Also among the unassigned bronzes are many only known through auctions and art market appearances, and, indeed, some of the unassigned category might well not bear closer scrutiny. On the other hand, at least cat. 92 and perhaps also 155 and 156, all rather poor bronzes, have a provenance of sorts. While any individual item would require more evaluation for authenticity and date, the unassigned group ought probably to be distributed over the Third Intermediate Period through the Ptolemaic Period as discussed in relevant chapters above in relation to examples from those periods that offer some slight chronological clues. The non-specificity of these represents a further level of detachment of bronzes from a relatively specific image. They make it clear that stylistically relatively specific and stylistically relatively non-specific bronze examples are being created at the same time. The latter are presumably created according to a more independent pattern to fulfill a basic need for a royal presence, whatever its absolute quality, in certain kinds of cult groupings. Several bronzes of the type with knees above toes are included.

Presumably this stratum of very generalized representations could have existed to some extent in small temple statuary in earlier periods and only becomes so visible in the periods when a durable material like bronze is used. However, the level of tolerance for this class of more generalized royal images may have been increased by the political and artistic complexities during much of the first millennium.

Royal bronzes, then, provide evidence of an area of artistic production which overlaps and mediates among those we usually attend to in studying architecture and stone statuary and relief.

The problem of role

However variable the mode or locale of production and however flexible the standards for bronze royal images, and despite greater or lesser changes within the small royal bronze statuary corpus, the upright kneeling pose remains – with minor variations – consistent. The overriding function of these small pieces was to convey a ritual message in a clear and universally understood language. The very frequent gilding of statuettes, quite independent of their quality otherwise, reinforces the importance of the message they convey.[4]

This fact aside, the specific role played by the statuettes remains somewhat opaque. Although the overall pose remains consistent and although the offering type can be relatively satisfactorily explicated, there is some development in the hand positions depicted in bronzes as was discussed in the chapter on role. What has

[4] Prominent uraei may be attributable to the same desire for a clear message.

been described here as the protective hand position is first attested in bronzes in the Third Intermediate Period and becomes very popular. Visual evidence from the late periods for the meaning of the hand position seems largely to repeat that available from the New Kingdom, so that it is simply not possible to know whether the changed religious landscape of the first millennium had anything to do with the apparent new popularity of this type.

In terms of the larger context of circumstances for use for these kings, the evidence is difficult. It is possible to suggest some parameters for a range of uses in the temple depending on the nature of the divine element in question, or its ritual state, and various possibilities for display groupings of the figures can be identified depending on the emphasis given to elements of the group. Although the accumulation of negative evidence is hardly definitive, it is remarkable that kings in the standard poses with one very unusual exception are not preserved as part of original direct groupings of confronted king and god, or, in fact, of any original group. On reflection, this circumstance seems fully in line with the kind of ritual force this statuary must anciently have had: such direct groupings would have existed only for the duration of a ritual purpose in the temple. Even if we can hardly envision the specifics, royal bronzes evoke very strongly the aura and decorum of ancient belief and temple practice.

One fairly distinctive use is certainly in connection with processional equipment, a use which seems well supported by a variety of evidence including the focused view of bronze royal statuary from Dynasty 25, where clearly bronze bark equipment and small bronze kneeling statuary exist side by side. That specific use of kneeling bronze kings surely existed in the context of a tradition, and probably goes back at least to developments in the later part of the Third Intermediate Period. The further reach of that tradition in the absence of descriptions of the use of specifically bronze kneeling statuary, while not susceptible of demonstration, seems probable given the conjunction of newly elaborate processional equipment in the late Middle and New Kingdoms with the appearance of bronze ritual statuary.

CATALOG OF ROYAL BRONZES

Focusing on small bronzes from the New Kingdom onward

Rather than restrict the catalog, I have opted to include virtually all examples that have come to my attention by the fall of 2001, and that I have been able to see or study in a photo and have no immediate reason to doubt.[1] While I certainly have not captured all the very numerous bronze kneeling kings, the advantages of this procedure lie chiefly in confronting the broadest possible range of pieces and in providing a better census of types. The main problem, of course, is that some pieces that I have not been able to study more closely, particularly among those known only in the past or on the art market outside New York, will have been enumerated that would not bear closer examination. Pieces I actually consider problematic (usually for a complex of reasons, whether style, iconography, material or technical qualities) were in most cases simply omitted, but in fourteen instances I have included problematic pieces, because I think they are germane to iconographic problems or offer instructive instances in another respect. The problem of forgeries, pastisches, and reworkings is briefly commented on in chapter one.

Bronzes from the pre-New Kingdom periods, with the exception of the kneeling example cat. 128, important to the typological aspects of this study, are only briefly referenced, but discussed at more length in the historical chapters. Otherwise, detailed descriptions of features I have identified as relevant are given for bronzes I have personally examined, for which I have documentation in the form of very good photos, or for which I can rely on the records and photos of Bernard V. Bothmer or Deborah Schorsch, the publications about Kushite bronzes by Edna Russmann, or other expert observers; less systematic details are given – generally termed "observations" – for many bronzes, particularly art market bronzes, known only from less detailed photos. As to the technical observations, Deborah Schorsch examined some of the bronzes and also gave her input towards the presentation of others, and worked with Mark Wypyski, also of the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to whom I am grateful for a number of compositional analyses. I, of course, bear full responsibility for any observations published here.

[1] A few small precious metal pieces which I did not include or a few others of bronze which have come to my attention too late may be listed: Oxford, Ashmolean, 1931.480, a small gold king offering *nw* pots, white crown and beard, from Kawa (Macadam, *Kawa* II, p. 149, no. 0203 and pl. 82); Maystre, *Kush* 15 (1967–68) 197, the arm and hand of a small silver statue holding a gilded *nw* vase from Tabo; London, Petrie Museum UC 16459, a kneeling king offering *nw* pots, red crown, beard; Malaga, Archaeological Provincial Museum, kneeling king, nemes, unclear offering (no uraeus – Roman?), pp. 65–66 and plate 71 in I. Gamer-Wallert, *Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Funde von der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Wiesbaden, 1978); Mainz, Landesmuseum, Prinz Johann Georg Sammlung, inv. no. 108, a small bearded kneeling king, nemes, arms broken (photographs kindly communicated by Birgit Schlick-Nolte); Sotheby's, New York, sale catalog December 7, 2001, lot. 28.

The catalog is numbered sequentially throughout. The first 33 statuettes are inscriptionally dated statuettes from the New Kingdom or later and are chronologically listed. Thereafter, the listing is given by city-museum-object number, city-collector, or city-year of last seen date for a piece known only on the art market. For pieces dated and discussed as central examples in the text, the sequence number for the piece (i.e. TIP-8) is given as the text reference and leads to the historical chapter and widespread discussion of the statuette. For numerous other statuettes mentioned more briefly I have noted page numbers as text references to the historical discussion. Measurements for statuette and tangs are given separately when known; otherwise measurements generally refer to the statuette only.

The bibliography concentrates on documents or photos important to the study of the piece. Where a Porter-Moss reference or a major study is cited (e.g. Russmann, *Representation*), earlier bibliography may in some cases be found there. Catalogs of firms once independent and subsumed by Sotheby's are listed as Sotheby's with the relevant city and year. Full citations of articles listed for the catalog bronzes are found in the overall bibliography. Certain considered datings are noted after the appropriate bibliographic entry, although it did not seem to me useful to provide a thorough attribution history of the pieces since bronzes have usually been very cursorily dated.

I. Identified by inscription

For kings precisely or relatively identified by inscription and predating the New Kingdom, see cat. 93 (Pepi I) and cat. 95 (Senwosret).

1. **Thutmose III** (ca. 1479–1424 B.C.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.21
Ht. 13.6 cm (excluding 3.5 cm tangs)
Text reference: **NK-1**, plate 2
Brief description: kneeling, preserved right arm bent at elbow, holding *nw* pot just above waist height.
Material notes: black bronze (published analysis MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 1997: 88.5% copper, 4.3% tin, 6.1% gold, plus small or trace amounts of other elements); ancient gold sheet in left eye socket, cosmetic lines, eyebrows, and nipples.
Manufacture: solid cast; arms cast separately, attached mechanically with tenons through mortises; tenons emerge to the surface on the outer surface of the upper arm; long round-section curved tangs in bottom of the knees and feet.
Inscription: in a rectangle, no cartouche, on front of belt are traces of an erased or worn name readable as *Mn-ḫpr-rᶜ* with the *rᶜ* in the middle.
Crown: khat headdress.
Uraeus: s-loop.
Face: broad face, square chin; features badly worn but strongly curved brows are visible.

Belt: much wider in back than in front; fairly level; pattern of diamonds.
Body: quite upright; broad shoulders; neck body juncture and clavicles clearly marked; strongly nipped waist, navel a sunken circle; some indication of muscles above the soft area around the navel.
Bibliography: PM 800–618–562; Hill, "Statuette" with ill.; Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III" with ills. (plus elemental analysis); Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 29; Laboury, "Thoutmosis III," Addendum.

2. **Thutmose IV** (ca. 1400–1390 B.C.)
London, British Museum 64564
Ht. 14.2 cm.
Text reference: **NK-2**, plate 3
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows to hold *nw* pots just above waist height.
Material notes: bronze (published analysis Department of Scientific Research, British Museum, 1985: 98.7% copper, 2.9% tin, 0.2% lead, trace amounts of other elements); brows and eyes are inlaid with silver.
Manufacture: hollow cast, small core present; arms separately cast and attached mechanically.
Provenance/History: Ackworth Collection.
Inscription: *Mn-ḫprw-rʿ* in rectangle at front of belt; no cartouche.
Face: broad, small chin, slight smile.
Crown: nemes.
Uraeus: s-loop.
Belt: slight taper, 2 opposed groups of zigzag lines forming a diamond pattern between them.
Body: stocky, nipples not marked.
Condition: overcleaned.
Bibliography: PM 800–624–500; Edwards, "Egyptian Antiquities," 55–56, ill.; Aldred, "Amun," p. 6, pl. II/4; Fishman, "Tutankhamun;" Craddock, "Three Thousand," table 1 (with elemental analysis); Bryan, "Thutmose IV," p. 3–20, ill.; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," pp. 86–7, ill.; Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary," p. 43; Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 29; Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III," n. 27 and ill.; Hill, "Thutmosis IV" with ill.

3. **Ramesses II** (ca. 1279–1213 B.C.)
Geneva, private collection
Ht. 22 cm.
Text reference: **NK-5**, plate 6
Brief description: kneeling; left arm held forward at shoulder height, small figure of Maat (feather broken) in hand; right arm deformed and pressed against body, hand missing.
Material notes: bronze (unpublished analysis, n.d.: ca. 8% tin, no lead); eyes inlaid with white and brown stone (?); brows and eye sockets are gold, now looks blackish.
Manufacture: arms cast separately; tangs under feet quite narrow, separate tangs under each knee, cut or broken off; large opening into interior cavity on the bottom

of the figure from which a core – now removed – probably protruded; core is non-conformal to shape of final cast; has been in a fire.
Inscription: poorly incised, on upper proper right arm (*Rʿ-ms-sw Mry-Ỉmn*), on upper proper left arm (*Wsr-mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp-n· Rʿ*).
Face: rather long; brows and eye sockets inlaid, cosmetic lines obscured by corrosion but visible proper right eye; creases in upper lids; nose slightly bulbous, possibly damaged; wide slightly curved mouth with well-formed lips; round chin made more knobby by corrosion; small short line(s) on throat; small earring holes.
Crown: khat headdress hangs in long heavy drape barely touching shoulders; front edge of headdress is bordered, and then beneath that is an incised line representing the frontlet and very slight side tabs; in back triple horizontal incised lines just at top of khat tail and one at bottom.
Uraeus: large complete uraeus, begins at top of frontlet, a loop visible on either side, tail running back to at least top of head.
Jewelry: a depression in the chest suggestive of an amulet cord around the neck is probably deceptive and related instead to casting.
Belt: tapers back to front, opposed zigzags forming diamond pattern.
Body: wide shoulders, thin arms, elongated torso and hip to knee length.
Condition: Very corroded, somewhat deformed.
Bibliography: Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III," n. 27.

4. **Ramesses V** (ca. 1147–1143 B.C.)
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam, E.1954.213
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: **NK-6**
Brief description: fragment from mid-chest to mid-thigh of a striding king
Material notes: bronze (published analysis, ca. 12% tin, no lead detected).
Manufacture: thick walled hollow cast, core remains
Inscription: cartouche with *Wsr-mꜣʿt-Rʿ* (*s*)*ḫpr-n· rʿ*.
Body: elongated, well-modeled hip bones.
Belt: vertical and horizontal groups of lines.
Bibliography: PM 800–686–100; Vassilika, "Bronze Sculpture," pp. 293, 295, fig. 5 (with elemental analysis); Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III" n. 27.

5. **Bronze base for a statue of Ramesses VI** (ca. 1142–1134 B.C.)
Jerusalem, Department of Antiquities, no. 36.
L. 27.4 cm, W. 9.2 cm, H. 5.45 cm
Text reference: **NK-7**
Brief description: rectangular base with two holes for tangs of a striding statue on upper surface, each accompanied by four small round holes which the excavator thought were for securing the tangs.
Inscription: long titularies with cartouches of Ramesses VI, see publication.
Provenance/History: Megiddo.
Bibliography: PM VII, 381; Breasted, "Ramses VI" with ill.

6. **Ramesses IX (?); generally considered not wholly ancient** (ca. 1126–1108 B.C.)
Cairo, Coll. G. Michailidis
Ht. 27.5 cm.
Text reference: **NK-8**
Brief description: striding king, arms forward from elbows at waist height holding *nw* pots.
Inscription: no copy; in front of right foot.
Face: pudgy.
Crown: close fitting blue crown.
Uraeus: coiled.
Jewelry: collar of 4 strands.
Belt: straight and not tapering, apparently simple alternating horizontal and vertical lines.
Body: stocky, nipples not marked(?), very round navel, very thick doughy legs.
Bibliography: PM 800–694–800; Franke, *Müller Archive*, II 2101–2103; Hornemann, *Types*, 279 (as Ramesses X); Aldred, "Amun," p. 6 and pl. II/7 (as Ramesses IX); Ziegler, "Jeune pharaon," p. 185, note 22 (as Ramesses XI); Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 30 and note 16.

7. **Menkheperre** (ca. 1045–992 B.C.)
Paris, Louvre E10897
H. 7.8 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-2**, plate 8
Brief description: small recumbent sphinx.
Material notes: black bronze (Cooney) inlaid with gold.
Inscription: *Mn-ḫpr-rʿ* in cartouche on chest.
Face: strongly curved nose and profile; broad oval shape, small chin; fairly broad smiling mouth; beard.
Crown: nemes, rather flattened on the sides and low on the forehead.
Uraeus: apparently had none.
Jewelry: no piercings for earrings.
Body: lies on the Nine Bows.
Bibliography (usually attributed toThutmose III): PM 800–618–960; John Cooney, "Black Bronze," p. 45 n. 65; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," p. 86; Bianchi, "Egyptian Bronze Statuary," p. 70; Ziegler, "Jalons," pp. 31–2, n. 28, ill.; Hill and Schorsch, "Thutmose III," n. 27.

8. **Menkheperre**
Rio de Janeiro, Museo Nacional no. 81
Ht. 19 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-1**, plate 7
Brief description: striding figure; arms, one leg and both feet missing.
Material notes: inscription inlaid with gold wire.
Manufacture: arms were clearly cast separately.
Provenance/History: not known, presumably from Thebes.

Inscription: titles and name in a cartouche in column down front of triangular apron, *ḥm-nṯr tpy n ꜣImn* (*Mn-ḫpr-rꜥ*) .
Face: heart-shaped, rather large eyes, lips well-formed.
Crown: priest's skull cap with diadem(?).
Uraeus: none.
Belt: very narrow, dips slightly in front.
Body: slender, shoulders were broad, nipples are indicated; wears the kilt with triangular projecting panel.
Bibliography: PM I 794; Childe, *Rio de Janeiro*, no. 81 p. 45 (illustration bears erroneously no. l78); Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," pp. 90–91, ill.; Myśliwiec, "Portraiture," pp. 7–10; Kitchen, *Rio de Janeiro*, pp. 188–9, pls. 180–181, 203.

9. **Siamun** (ca. 978–959 B.C.)
Paris, Louvre E3914
L. 10.3 cm
Text reference: **TIP-3**
Brief description: recumbent sphinx (wings on back) with hands holding offering table.
Material notes: black bronze (no analysis) inlaid with gold.
Manufacture: hollow-cast.
Inscription: cartouches on offering table (*Sꜣ-ꜣImn mry-ꜣImn*) and rear flanks, right as previously and left (*Nṯr-ḫpr-Rꜥ stp· n-ꜣImn*).
Provenance/History: possibly from Tanis.
Face: full face with inlaid eyes and brows, full, slightly smiling mouth; beard strap inlaid, vertically striated beard; presence or absence of throat lines could not be checked.
Crown: nemes.
Uraeus: seems to begin at upper edge of frontlet, body and side loops damaged, winds twice then long tail back to just past crown of head.
Bibliography: PM 800–761–700; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," p. 88; *Tanis*, p. 164 with other bibliography, ill.; Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 32.

10. **Osorkon I** (Dynasty 22, ca. 924–889 B.C.)
Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 57.92
Ht. 14 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-6**, plate 11
Brief description: striding, right arm missing, left holds *nw* pot just above waist height.
Material notes: probably a black bronze; gold and electrum (?) inlays on skirt and body.
Manufacture: hollow cast; separately cast arms mechanically attached by means of tenon and mortise from the back.
Inscription: cartouches on chest (*Sḫm-ḫpr-Rꜥ stp· n-Rꜥ*) and below belt on skirt (*Wsrkn mry-ꜣImn*); divine figures on chest, side, and back.
Provenance/History: Shibin el-Qanatir at Heliopolis.
Face: heart-shaped, small features rather abraded, small smiling mouth; indented

earlobes.
Crown: khat with high dome, rather wide frontlet.
Uraeus: loop placed symmetrically on either side of cobra; starts at or just above upper edge of frontlet.
Belt: slopes down and tapers slightly toward front; front center space in belt is empty; pattern of double row of lozenges.
Body: slender; slight swelling of the belly all around the navel; inlay described above.
Bibliography: PM IV, 58; Drouot, Paris, sale catalog June 11, 1925 (Lehman Collection), p. 7, pl. 2; Bosse, *Figur*, p. 56 no. l50, ill.; Bothmer, "Osorkon II," p. 6; Bothmer *Brief Guide*, p. 58 ff.; Kitchen, *TIP*, p. 303, para. 262, n. 329; Vandersleyen, *PKG*, pl. 209a, p. 264; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," pp. 88–89, ill.; Bianchi, "Egyptian Bronze Sculpture," pp. 68–71, 73–4, fig. 2ab.

11. **Usermaatre Sotepenimen** [**Osorkon II**] (Dynasty 22, ca. 874–850 B.C.)
Paris, Charles Bouché Collection
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-7**, plate 15
Brief description: torso of king, arms and body below belt missing.
Material notes: remains of gilding or inlay.
Manufacture: hollow cast, core still present; separately cast arms had been attached by horizontal-T-shaped tenons fitting in mortises opening onto the back of the statuette.
Inscription: large cartouche on chest (*Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stp·n-ꞽImn*). The *ꞽI* of *ꞽImn* is raised to stand in front of the *Wsr* of Usermaatre.
Provenance/History: former Gayer-Anderson collection, according to collector formed before 1914; noted "from Luxor" in sale catalog.
Face: sweet features, prominent low cheekbones, small mouth, round chin.
Crown: nemes with high dome and narrow sides, wide frontlet.
Uraeus: begins considerably above upper edge of frontlet; small single loop symmetrically placed on either side of cobra, with long tail going up to top of head.
Belt: dips slightly in front, slight taper; pattern of parallel zigzag lines.
Body: narrow waist, shoulders must have been fairly broad, nipples slightly modeled in relief and surrounded by incised line.
Bibliography: PM 800–773–900; Garland, *Metallurgy*, pp. 12–13, 47–48, figs. 2 and 16 (as Ramesses IV); Sotheby's, New York, sale catalog April 15, 1942, lot 251, ill. (as Ramesses VI); Yoyotte, "Petits monuments," pp. 47–8, pl. VII-VIII (Osorkon II); Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 17, 24; Ziegler, "Les arts du métal," pp. 88 (ill.)-89; for orthography see Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, pp. 163, 180.

12. **Pedubaste** (Dynasty 23, ca. 818–793 B.C.)
Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum 52
Ht. 27 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-9**, plate 18
Brief description: waist to knees of striding king.
Material notes: bronze inlaid with gold and copper.

Manufacture: hollow-cast; bronze walls thickened in front and dangerously thin in back; traces of iron core supports and iron rod in leg (evidence of armature?).
Provenance/History: no good evidence, sometimes said to be Tanis (see Kitchen, *TIP*, para. 102 for discussion).
Inscription: cartouches (*Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ P-di͗-Bꜣst sꜣ-Bꜣst mry-ꜣImn stp·n-Rꜥ*) on belt front, and names (*Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stp·n-ꜣImn*) and (*P-di͗-Bꜣst sꜣ-Bꜣst mry-ꜣImn*) in column down the front of apron hanging from belt. On the king's chest figures were inlaid, though the bronze was broken in this area so that no heads of the figures are preserved, and its surface is very corroded so that much of the inlay is missing or had lifted and moved from its original channels during the corrosion process. Two groups of figures converge. At the center on the left as one faces the statue is the lower part of a mummiform figure with no visible arms or staff, followed by the lower part of a striding male whose arms cannot be traced, and at the outermost edge a female figure who holds an ankh in her right hand and grasps a staff, presumably the female goddess' papyrus scepter, in her left. At the center on the right is a striding male figure who extends the one arm that can be seen. Though invisible beneath corrosion, on x-rays a forked form in gold inlay is visible directly beneath the extended hand of the striding figure, clearly indicating that the figure holds the *wꜣs* scepter. Behind this figure are traces of what seem to be two additional figures.

It seems as though the figures on either side behind the two central figures are slightly smaller. In the interstices between several of the figures, there seem to be remains of inlay that could represent identifying hieroglyphs or might simply be displaced inlay threads. It seems most likely Osiris is the mummiform figure represented here. The figure across from him holding the *wꜣs* could be a god, or just possibly a king.
Belt: triple rows of lozenges, pattern similar to Brooklyn's Osorkon I but in this case inlaid; from it hangs an apron with the same pattern vertically but a leopard's head (with spots inlaid in gold) at the top and a band of uraei at the bottom.
Body: very long from waist to hips, belt placed just above hips below soft abdomen and navel; left leg swings in front of right, torso slightly twisted.
Bibliography: Aldred, *Crépuscule*, fig. l07; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," pp. 87–88, ill.; Müller, "Kniende König," p. 125 n. l7; Assam, *Gulbenkian*, pp.64–65, ill. (with previous bibliography); Lopes, "Pedubast," ill.; Hill and Schorsch, "Pedubaste."

13. **Pami** (Dynasty 22, ca. 770 B.C.)
London, British Museum 32747
Ht. 26 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-11**, plate 20
Brief description: kneeling king, offering *nw* pots, arms raised to mid chest; upper body leans forward slightly from hips though face directed forward.
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis, Scientific Research Department, British Museum, 1985: 64.6% copper, 3.3% tin, 24.9% lead, small or trace amounts of other elements).
Manufacture: arms separately cast, attached by tenons in mortises which open on top of shoulders.
Provenance/History: acquired by purchase in 1880.

Inscription: cartouches on belt front and left shoulder (*Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ stp·n-Rꜥ*) and on right shoulder (*Mr*(*y*)*-Ỉmn sꜣ-Bꜣstt P*(*ꜣ*)*-miw nṯr ḥḳ*...).
Face: full face; finely drawn brows and upper lids with cosmetic lines, raised pupils; round, small chin separated from full underchin; slight smile.
Crown: white crown with a frontlet which stops at tabs of crown in front of ears; tabs are lightly bordered, however, and in back crown has a wide border; two horizontally striped streamers hang down between the shoulders on the back, in slightly raised relief.
Uraeus: small loop symmetrically placed on either side of the cobra whose hood markings are indicated; long tail winds almost three-quarters of the way up the crown.
Jewelry: king wears broad collar, the two rows of tubular beads and bottom row of tear-shaped drops finely engraved.
Belt: placed low; fairly straight in front, does not appear to taper from back; decorated with two opposing groups of parallel zigzags forming diamonds where they meet.
Body: no bipartition; lower abdomen detached from thorax and forms its own sculptural mass with navel as its isolated hub (as Aldred, "Amun," p. 7).
Bibliography: PM 800–781–400; Aldred, "Amun," pp. 6–7, pl. II/8; Craddock, "Three Thousand," table 1 (elemental analysis); Müller, "Kniende König," p. 126 n. 20; James, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 40 fig. 47; Ziegler, "Jalons," pp. 88(ill.)-89; Yoyotte, "Des lions," pp. 164–6, pl. 4–5 (Pami); Hill, "Pimay" with ill.

14. **Sheshonq V** (Dynasty 22, ca. 767–730 B.C.)
Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art 33.586
Ht. 3.2 cm
Text reference: **TIP-12**, plate 21
Brief description: recumbent sphinx with incised wings on back.
Inscription: *nṯr nfr* (*Ššnq*) *nṯr ḥqꜣ Wꜣst* [?], see chapter discussion.
Face: round with small chin, plastic brows and cosmetic lines, brow and upper eye line closely parallel, very wide eyes; small straight mouth; beard from bulb of chin, projecting oddly, presumably disturbed.
Crown: nemes, fairly broad frontlet which runs above ears with wide hair tabs not separated from frontlet by incised line; wings have a somewhat downward curved trajectory.
Uraeus: damaged, tail runs to top of head; loop symmetrically placed on either side of uraeus body.
Jewelry: broad collar?
Bibliography: PM 800–797–100; Fazzini, *Neferut*, no. 56, ill.; Fazzini, *Egyptian Art*, no. 68, ill.

15. **Peftjaubast** (ca. 749 – after 728 B.C.)
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1977.16
Ht. 19.5 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-13**, plate 23
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward parallel palms turned inwards.

Material notes: bronze (published analysis, MFA research laboratory, 1981: 12–15% tin, 5–10% lead).
Manufacture: four roughly rectangular tangs, one under each knee and foot; hollow cast, core still present and accessible through a hole in the lower rear side, between thighs; arms cast separately.
Provenance/History: said to have been found in Middle Egypt.
Inscription: at front of belt between parentheses-shaped marks is the name *Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*.
Face: broad without much detail in modeling; eyes and brows contoured with incised lines; nose, mouth and chin are small; small, low, projecting ears.
Crown: cap crown influenced by Kushite cap.
Uraeus: the head and neck of uraeus is restored, the loops and tail are original; apparently two loops on each side (the upper fully formed and the lower a small vestigial roundness), symmetrically arranged and apparently beginning at the frontlet/bottom of the diadem; the tail goes in a straight line all the way to the top of the diadem at the back of the head.
Jewelry: bracelets on each wrist, simple vertical pattern; necklace of a single strand of beads or cord, knotted in back with short tasseled ends.
Belt: pattern of vertical and horizontal lines; narrows somewhat in front.
Body: upright; broad stocky trunk, unusually wide shoulders, suppressed modeling in the torso (no median line visible), nipples not indicated.
Bibliography: PM 800–797–600; Janssen, "Bocchoris," p. 22, fig. 2; Russmann, "Reflections," p. 51, pl. XII; Russmann, "Royal Statuette" (this is a full stylistic and technical study of this piece, thoroughly illustrated, identifies king as Peftjaubast and includes a technical addendum including elemental analysis by L. van Zelst); Davis, *Table* (entry by T. Kendall), pp. 54–57, ill.; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," pp. 88–89, ill.; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. l9, 34; Fazzini, "Several Objects," *passim*.

16. **Pedise** (ca. 740 B.C.)
Cairo, Michailidis Collection
Ht. 5.5 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-15**, plate 25
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Manufacture: small tenon under toes.
Inscription: on chest, no cartouche, *r-pꜥ*[*t*] *P-di-Ꜣst*
Face: round, unsmiling.
Crown: flattened blue crown.
Uraeus: large fat uraeus, no tail visible.
Belt: narrow, curving below abdomen.
Jewelry: broad collar with two strands.
Bibliography: Yoyotte, "Principautés," pp. 161–3 and pl. II/3.

17. **Shabaqo** (ca. 712–698 B.C.)
Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 632
Ht. 16 cm.
Text reference: **K-1**, plate 29
Brief description: kneeling figure, arms bent and hands in front of body, parallel

palms inward.
Manufacture: solid cast, arms cast with body.
Provenance/History: not known, ex. coll. Demetrio, 1880.
Inscription: Shabaqo, in capsule on front of belt.
Face: see Kushite chapter where Russmann's description is quoted.
Crown: Kushite, 2 pairs of wings on back of cap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: Kushite necklace; armlets and bracelets with incised pattern of parallel lines.
Belt: alternating groups of horizontal and vertical lines
Body: upright; torso well modeled, broad shoulders, median line, little rounding of abdomen.
Bibliography: PM 800–807–050; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, pp. 12, 13, 16 n. 3, 19 n. 5, 20, 26 n. 1, 28 n. 7, 35 n. 4, 57, cat. II.A.1, fig. 1 is the major study and includes previous bibliography; Vandersleyen, *PKG*, pl. 416a, p. 411; Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II (1978) pp. 57 fig. 31, 59, 166, cat. no. 75; Fazzini, "Taharqa," p. 295 n. 9; Maystre, *Tabo I*, p. 49; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 31, 34–5, 37; *Athens* 1995, p. 145–7, ill.

18. **Base of Sheshonq II of Busiris** (ca. 670)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 25572
Max. preserved Ht. 6.9 cm, W. 6.7 cm, L. 7.6 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-16**
Brief description: part of large bronze base for a statue.
Material notes: black bronze (Cooney) with ornate precious metal inlay (Cooney: gold, silver, electrum, copper).
Inscription: see Yoyotte, also for attribution.
Provenance/History: purchased in Alexandria, see Yoyotte.
Bibliography: Cooney, "Black Bronze," p. 47 and ill.; Yoyotte, "Principautés," pp. 165–173 and pl. II/2 and 5; Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," p. 91, ill.

19. **Taharqo** (ca. 690–664 B.C.)
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 34397 (**formerly 1/75**)
Ht. 15.5 without tangs
Text reference: **K-7**, plate 36
Brief description: kneeling king, arms low, hands gone.
Manufacture: tangs under knees and feet
Inscription: Taharqo on belt.
Face: strong furrows, wide nose and smile.
Crown: Kushite cap plus streamers, altered.
Uraeus: altered to one small.
Jewelry: traces of effaced Kushite neck cord.
Belt: alternating horizontal and vertical lines; consistent width, slight dip in front.
Body: strong pectorals; muscular rounded shoulders.
Bibliography: PM 800–811–050; Bothmer, *Bastis*, p. 41 comment; *Neuerwerbungen*, p. 4, no. 8, ill.; *Museum, Berlin 1981*, p. 94 ill.; Wildung, *Berlin*, p. 45, ill.;

Wildung, *Sudan*, p. 179, ill.

20. **Taharqo**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1595
Ht. 14 cm.
Text reference: **K-5**, plate 34
Brief description: kneeling figure, arms bent and hands in front of body, fingers curved.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Provenance/History: not known, ex coll. MacGregor; bought in Cairo.
Inscription: Taharqo, no cartouche ring, on front of belt.
Face: rather delicate features.
Crown: Kushite, falcon wings on back of cap.
Uraeus: double, crowned?
Jewelry: Kushite necklace.
Belt: groups of vertical lines alternating with spaces.
Body: upright; median line, nipples not marked? Russmann notes Schäfer saw a cape in gold, which seems unlikely but might relate to original gilding.
Bibliography: PM 800–811–160; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 58 cat. IIA2, where previous bibliography is also listed, is the major study.

21. **Taharqo**
London, British Museum 63595
Ht. 9.3 cm.
Text reference: **K-9**, plate 38
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows, parallel palms inwards.
Material Notes: leaded bronze (published analysis, Scientific Research Department, British Museum, 1985: 86.4% copper, 7.1% tin, 4.2% lead, small or trace amounts of other elements).
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple A; reg. no. 0974. (Temple T citation in Porter Moss and in Russmann is incorrect).
Inscription: Taharqo visible on belt buckle after cleaning.
Face: large eyes, strong Kushite furrows, wide mouth.
Crown: skullcap, very wide and prominent bandeau.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: cord with one amulet; armlets and bracelets.
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 65–66 no. IIB 27, with previous bibliography, is the major study; Craddock, “Three Thousand,” table 1 (elemental analysis); Davies, *Egypt and Africa: Nubia*, pp. 317–8 (inscription and jewelry revealed; ht. given as 11 cm, perhaps with tangs?); Russmann, “Two Bracelets,” p. 49 n. 12.

22. **Taharqo**
Paris, Louvre E25276
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: **K-4**, plate 33

Brief description: kneeling figure, arms bent, hands in front of body holding *nw* jars, offering before Hemen of Hefat.
Material notes: bronze king on silver-clad wooden base with gold-clad crude stone figure of the hawk god.
Manufacture: one large tang under knees and one under feet.
Provenance/History: not known, ex coll. M. A. Mansoor.
Inscription: back of belt, *nṯr nfr* (*Thrq*) *ʿnḫ ḏt*.
Face: brows horizontal at nose; small smiling mouth; full cheeks, round chin; head round.
Crown: Kushite.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: none.
Belt: plain, bordered.
Body: upright; broad shoulders, small waist.
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 19, 58 cat. II.A.4, fig. 15, with other bibliography and stylistic discussion; Vandier, "Hémen," pp. 73–79, ill., is a major historical study of the piece; Aldred, *Crépuscule*, p. 7, fig. 3**;** Fazzini, "Taharqa," p. 295 n. 9; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 33, 40; M. Müller, "Kniende König," p. 121 n. 3; Aldred, *Crépuscule*, p. 231, ill. (group); Ziegler, "Les Arts du métal," p. 93, ill.; Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 32; Andreu, *Louvre*, p. 184, ill. (group).

23. **Taharqo**
Paris, Louvre E3916
Ht. 9.8 cm.
Text reference: **K-10**, plate 39
Brief description: standing sphinx on standard with two large cobras rearing before him.
Provenance/History: not known, ex coll. P. H. Delaporte (1864).
Inscription: Taharqo in cartouche on chest.
Face: features blunt; full cheeks; beard with wavy striations.
Crown: striated wig with tail.
Uraeus: traces of double.
Bibliography: Vandier, "Hémen," p. 78, fig. 4; Russmann, "Two Royal Heads," p. 101 n. 37; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, pp. 19, 58 cat. II.A.3, fig. 14; Fazzini, "Taharqa," p. 295 n.9; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 33, 40.

[see cat. 39 for a Psamtik, either I or II, and see cat. 36 for an altered Kushite bronze with the unaltered name Psamtik on his belt]

24. **Necho** (probably Necho II, ca. 610–595 B.C.)
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E13004
Ht. 18.1 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-4**, plate 52
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward just above thighs, parallel palms turned inward.

Manufacture: probably solid cast; visible repairs; arms cast with body; large square tangs about 5 cm long.
Inscription: *sꜣ Rꜥ* (*Nkꜣw*) *ꜥnḫ dṯ* on back of belt; scratchy poor signs.
Provenance/History: not known, formerly Gustave Posno Collection.
Face: head in general is rather small on a large body; triangular-shaped face, thin plastic eyebrows which run straight above eyes and slope down at temples; eyes are markedly slanted and of button-hole type; somewhat sunken beneath eyes; notch at bridge of nose; mouth is pursed and smiling, slightly thicker upper lip; chin is full; ears are large.
Crown: nemes, wide at the upper corners; very narrow frontlet; very oddly what ought to be the hair tabs in front of the ears are worked as rounded tabs forming part of the nemes headdress and sharing a border with the frontlet; from the side the nemes rises in shallow curves from the front and the rear to a peak over the ears, forming a sort of elliptical shape; tail of nemes rather short.
Uraeus: no side loops; slightly wavy tail which goes back over the peak of the nemes; raised central area on uraeus hood with diagonal markings.
Jewelry: carelessly incised broad collar with two rows of tubular beads and a row of drops.
Belt: rather thick, almost rolled-looking, simple belt formed by two incised lines; moderately wide, tilts markedly back to front, curves beneath abdomen.
Body: broad shoulders, long torso with heavyish but not muscular v-shaped pectorals; deep groove ending in a tear-drop depression for navel; waist pulled in; belly soft and full; arms are finely modeled, flat surface on top of forearm, muscle visible, fine elbow, pointed ridge along underside of arms; small fine thumbs; from the side it is apparent the torso slants forward slightly, the upper arms are not muscular, the waist rather thick front to back, and the lower body is heavy with rather square buttocks; also from the side the extremely stylized leg groove is visible; long toes; fine line down the back; abnormal kilt fold, right over left.
Condition: overcleaned.
Bibliography: PM 800–824–600; *ESLP*, no. 43, pp. 49, 50–51, 52, 68, 88, 177, pl. 40 figs. 95–96 (previous bibliography listed); DeWit, “Statuette,” p. 208 n. 6; Leahy, “Sculpture Review,” p. 70; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 47, 56–7; Müller, “Kniende König,” p. 127 n. 25; Russmann, “Necho II,” ill.

25. **Necho** (probably Necho II)
Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 71.11
Ht. 13.6 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-5**, plate 53
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward just above thighs, parallel palms inward.
Manufacture: two tangs, one beneath feet and the other beneath knees.
Inscription: Necho in cartouche on front of belt.
Face: long face with narrow jaw and pointed chin; large eyes, rounded around a vertical axis, the right one slightly slanted; fairly level brows dipping at temples; brows and cosmetic lines indicated in slight relief; large nose; large lips, upper one projecting slightly, mouth unsmiling; chin recedes slightly; two lines under the

throat; large ears.
Crown: nemes, with very narrow frontlet and hair tabs separated from the frontlet by a line; upper front contour of nemes is straight and narrow, then becomes broad at the bottom of the wings; in profile the upper edge of nemes slants from a high front to lower in back.
Uraeus: very large high uraeus body, a third to a half the size of the face, rises above the upper line of the headdress but is still attached by metal matrix to the nemes along its full height; a loop on either side, arranged symmetrically; tail, quite straight, extends back beyond crown of the head.
Jewelry: bracelet on either arm, simple pattern of alternating horizontal and vertical lines.
Belt: slight angle front to back, slight curvature across belly; pattern of points running around body from mid-front to proper right, across the back, then in reverse direction from mid-front to proper left.
Body: leans forward very slightly; torso shows both bipartition and tripartition; navel is in a tear-drop depression in abdomen.
Bibliography: PM 800–824–100; Sotheby's, New York, sale catalog May 11, 1949, (Brummer Collection), p. 5, no. 22, ill.; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, sale catalog June 5, 1957 (Coll. A. H. Meramedjian), no. 114, ill.; Sotheby's, London, sale catalog December 8, 1970 (Kevorkian sale), p. 12 no. 15, ill. facing p. 12; Fazzini, *Images*, p. 116–7, 137 (no. 98), ill.; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 70; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 47, 56; Bleiberg, p. 10, ill. (neck lines visible).

26. **Apries** (ca. 589–570 B.C.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.1996.65.1
(**associated bronze fragments L.1996.65.2a-j**)
Loaned by Marjorie Fisher, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
Ht. ca. 23 cm, with tangs 26 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-12**, plate 59
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held forward above thighs, parallel palms curved inwards slightly.
Material notes: bronze (unpublished analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 1996: 92% copper, 6% tin, traces of lead and iron).
Manufacture: solid cast, large rectangular tangs under each knee and foot.
Provenance/History: said to have been found with a group of large bronze slabs which are associated with it; these may be fragments of a box or large base. One of them – no longer with the group – bears the name (*Ḥʿʿ-ib-Rʿ*), and together they record royal titles; the presence of certain unusual corrosion factors on both slabs and statue support the association.
Inscription: (*Wꜣḥ-ib-Rʿ*) deeply engraved on belt.
Face: flat relief brows forming a continuous arc; raised eye rims, sinuous lower lid; intact nose, wide at nostrils and coming to a fairly small tip; very full lips forming a squarish and prominent mouth; narrow small knobby chin and fullness under chin; ears very finely modeled.
Crown: nemes, tabs quite thick and separated from the frontlet by a line; stripes alternately raised and sunk.

Uraeus: somewhat worn, but is clearly the asp type – head of snake hanging over forehead and thick tail forms two curves over forehead and extends behind to top of nemes.
Belt: plain, dips beneath abdomen.
Body: high fairly prominent breasts, round relief nipples, soft full stomach begins just below hips which are very marked; upper arm muscle, knobby elbow, bulging lower arm flat across top; large hands with long narrow fingers, tips delicately turned outward; fairly long kilt with raised striations; legs long, calves single grooved; feet long and narrow.

27. **Apries**
Paris, Louvre N515
L. 44.8 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-11**, plate 58
Brief description: recumbent sphinx with arms which are angled up from elbows, ending in hands with parallel palms turned inwards.
Manufacture: hollow cast, core cavity accessible through underside.
Inscription: erased cartouches of *Ḥ*ʿʿ*-ỉb-R*ʿ on either shoulder at an angle following the diagonal of the muscle; above cartouche on the left shoulder *swt bỉty* is also visible; both sides are then covered with a four-line pseudo-Egyptian inscription.
Face: square with a triangular jaw, slightly plastic brow level above eyes; slanted eyes (right more than left), thick lids, but buttonhole except that the lid continues into a short pointed extension; straight sharply pointed nose, very sharp bridge; small almost straight mouth, very slightly smiling because slightly turned up at ends; high cheekbones; large plain beard attached to neck and beard strap of four incised lines; ears not too large, summarily executed.
Crown: nemes headdress of fairly balanced proportions but with rather sharp peaks; some peculiarities suggest the nemes has been reincised, particularly heavily on the front, left side and left rear; traces of a frontlet on the right side; square and oblong notches on top of nemes.
Uraeus: missing, round hole for uraeus in front of nemes.
Body: pronounced ridges on rear haunches.
Bibliography: Caylus, *Recueil* (l756 ed.), pls. XIII-XIV; same, (1761 ed.), pp. 44–47, pls. XIII-XIV; Moret, *Égypte* p. 571; *Connaissance des Arts* 204 (fév. 1969), p. 60, ill.; Aldred, "Image," p. 46 n. 40; Müller, "Kniende König," p. 127.

28. **Amasis** (ca. 570–526 B.C.)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, T.R. 20/5/26/1 (**M 696**)
H. of aegis 10.7, h. of head ca. 4.5, of face ca. 2.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-16**, plate 61
Brief description: aegis with bust of Amasis
Inscription:(*ʾIʿḥ-ms sꜣ-Nt*) and (*Ḫnm-ỉb-R*ʿ), in an inscription reading "Son of Re Amasis Son of Neith living forever, the Good God Khnemibre living forever, beloved of Nut the Great who gave birth to the gods."
Provenance/History: Saqqara, Serapeum.
Face: wear in brow area but eyebrows are clearly naturally formed; eyes have a

lightly plastic upper rim and a long fine narrow cosmetic line; small mouth, lower lip shorter than upper; ears are deeply modeled in great detail; earlobes have holes or deep nicks; neck below chin has two incised lines.
Crown: wide nemes, wide tabs separated from frontlet.
Uraeus: very thin uraeus hood, long loops on either side form a horizontal bow shape, tail of the cobra ends well beyond the crown of the head.
Jewelry: note earring holes.
Bibliography: PM III, 2nd edition, p. 820; De Rougé, *Album*, p. 133, ill.**;** Mariette, *Album*, pl. 37; Masson, *Objets pharaoniques*, 40; Ziegler, "Découverte inédite," p. 43; Kessler, *Die heiligen Tieren*, p. 144; Hill, "Aegis of Amasis," ill.

29. **Amasis**
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 91491
Ht. about 7 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-14**
Brief description: censer; kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and held forward at waist height, hands with palms down resting on bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box, the box and king on a plinth which is then mounted on the censer shaft (censer shaft L. 40 cm.).
Provenance/History: Saqqara, SAN, see bibliography.
Inscription: given in Green publication below, both names of Amasis appear on the pellet box not enclosed in cartouches, and in cartouches on the censer shaft.
Crown: nemes, narrow frontlet.
Bibliography: Green, *Temple Furniture*, cat. no. 82, pp. 38–9, fig. 57–8 (with previous bibliography).

30. **Amasis**
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 13/1937
Ht. 5 cm. (**?**)
Text reference: **LPPt-13**
Brief description: censer; kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and held forward at waist height, hands with palms down resting on bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box, the box and king on a plinth which is then mounted on the censer shaft (censer shaft L. 39.5 cm.).
Provenance/History: not known, formerly MacGregor Collection.
Inscription: *nṯr nfr* (*Ḫnm-ỉb-Rꜥ*) *mry hꜥ nṯrw ꜣḫt-Rꜥ dỉ ꜥnḫ ḏt* on censer handle.
Face: summarily, though nicely, done; prominent cheekbones indicated.
Crown: blue crown, no ringlets visible, though corrosion has been cleaned; streamer with horizontal lines all the way down.
Uraeus: large uraeus with a single loop on either side and a long tail which apparently goes far back onto blue crown; begins at a distance above bottom edge of crown.
Belt: thin and quite level.
Body: tripartition with perhaps faint bipartition indicated also.
Bibliography: Sotheby's London, June 26 and ff. days, 1922 (MacGregor Collection), pl. 17 no. 1176; Müller, "Königbildnis," p. 63 n. 7; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 50, 63.

31. **Amasis**
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 35.9.3
Ht. 10.9 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-15**, plate 60
Brief description: kneeling king holding *nw* pots, arms parallel with thighs.
Material notes: some gold inlay remains in inscription on front of skirt, inscription in back; traces of gilding on lappets of nemes, lower part of headcloth in back and pigtail; bronze (unpublished analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 2002: 93.3% copper, 5.3% tin, traces of arsenic, iron, and lead).
Manufacture: solid cast; tangs under knees and feet about 2.3 cm long.
Provenance/History: ex-Sabatier (Petrie, *History* III, p. 348).
Inscription: in a column running right across the overlap of skirt *nṯr nfr* (*H̱nm-ỉb-Rꜥ*) *ꜥnḫ ḏt*, on back of belt as read by James Allen 7/97 *nṯr ꜣꜥ nb ỉr ḫt sꜣ Rꜥ* (*ỉꜥḥ-ms sꜣ-Nt*) *dỉ ꜥnḫ ḏt* (*sꜣ* is written with the egg-shaped sign).
Face: rectangular in shape; natural brows; buttonhole eyes, but eyes swell slightly within that contour; cheek bones indicated; nose small and sharply pointed; mouth small and straight, but corners slightly upturned; upper lip is noticeably thicker than lower, projects outward; chin is very definitely double (looks very long unless well lit); ears very summarily done.
Crown: nemes, rather high domed; narrow frontlet with fairly large hair tabs which are not really separated from the narrow frontlet and slope up gradually to meet its lower contour.
Uraeus: head broken off; small loop symmetrically placed on either side of the cobra body; slightly wavy tail runs back just to crown of head.
Belt: simple, rather thick, belt; narrow in front and slightly wider in back; slightly curved under belly.
Body: leans forward very slightly; rather childish body, compact and rounded; tri-partition; nipples not indicated; kilt is smooth.
Bibliography: PM 800–832–500; "Acquisitions," *BMMA* (July, 1935), pp. 144–5, fig. 5; *ESLP*, p. 51 (suggesting an earlier Saite king's name erased and reinscribed for Amasis); De Wit, "Statuette," p. 211 ff., fig. 7; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 66; Müller, "Kniende König," p. 127 n. 25.

32. **Achoris** (ca. 393–380 B.C.)**, possibly Nectanebo I** (ca. 380–362 B.C.)
Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum, 53.13
Ht. 20.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-20**, plate 65
Brief description: kneeling king, lower arms now missing but traces indicate arms once bent forward, upward, and slightly inward at elbows certainly to hold an offering, perhaps *maat* (which could be an allusion to Achoris's prenomen Khnem-maat-re) or *wedjat* given the indication of an inward direction of the forearm; feet broken off.
Manufacture: Bernard Bothmer thought solid cast.
Inscription: in cartouche on belt illegible name, 3 signs which could be (*Mꜣꜥt-ẖnm-Rꜥ*) or possibly (*Ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*) .
Face: rounded face; natural brow; eyes deep set; eyeball recessed and rounded

somewhat in its socket; high cheekbones; rounded nose, furrows beside nose; a knob in center of forehead at root of nose, brought into higher relief by the depression below the edge of blue crown; wide mouth with turned up ends and strong furrows downward from corners; broad jaw, rounded chin, and full underchin.
Crown: blue crown with fine rounded border totally encircling it, wide tabs in front of ears; small discs incised over surface of the crown; a thick "streamer" hangs down from the rear bottom edge of the crown all the way to the belt; deep depression between blue crown and forehead as if crown possibly separately made.
Uraeus: rather tall thin uraeus body originates high above edge of crown, double loops symmetrically arranged on either side of the cobra.
Belt: slants somewhat front to back, upper edge curves and thins below belly; apparently no decoration.
Body: full, rather soft and unmodeled torso; however, are ends of clavicle bones near neck faintly modeled?; long pectoral area; soft round belly surrounds circular navel; strongly marked hipbones; upper thighs swollen where they press against legs; hip to knee distance rather long.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–270; *ESLP* no. 71, pp. 88–9, pl. 67, figs. 172–3 (previous bibliography noted there)**;** Traunecker, "XXIXe Dynastie," p. 416, doc. B. 12, 434; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 57, 60, 64, 69, 78, 91 (he feels it is late Saite, Apries/Amasis); Müller, "Kniende König," p. 127 n. 27; Fazzini, "Several Objects," p. 131 note 62 (disagrees with Myśliwiec); De Meulenaere, "Review of *Portraiture*," col. 124.

33. **Upper part of human-headed falcon (?) statue with name of Nectanebo II(?)**
Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 91435 [called sphinx in register]
H. ca. 12 cm
Text reference: **LPPt-21**, plate 67
Brief description: The head and body of a human headed bird are formed in a single cast down to an edge where set-back slots are presumably fittings for limbs; the missing lower part was separately formed; in back the statuette descends slanting outward from the shoulders to the same level as the edge in front. Feather-shaped cells form a drape at the upper sides of the front of the body, around shoulders and onto back.
Material notes: extensive remains of gold inlay and gilding.
Provenance/History: Saqqara, SAN, Falcon Catacomb, H5–2232[4349], FCO 170.
Inscription: In front beneath the neck and between the feather indications is a quite small broad collar, and beneath that a falcon-headed winged scarab crowned with sun disk stands on a pyloniform (?) base or *nbw* sign, on either side of which are cartouches crowned with disk and feathers, read by H. S. Smith as the names of Nectanebo II.
Face and crown: The head is fairly rounded. Set back above the edge of the forehead is a low rounded domed "skull", with a fairly large rectangular hole a very short distance above the forehead edge. The domed area must have been covered by some overlay or a separate upright crown; if indeed the statuette represents Nectanebo as Horus, it should be the double crown. The face of the statuette is quite round, the

eyes fairly large. Both eyes and brows have cosmetic lines. The cheekbones are low and the lips broad and flat. A long polygonal beard hangs from the lower edge of the chin; it is cast as one piece with the neck behind. Beard straps on the sides of the face end before meeting the actual beard.
Bibliography: Davies and Smith, *Falcon Complex*, forthcoming.

II. Not Identified

34. **Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, Inv. 88.37**
Ht. 18 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-14**, plate 24
Brief description: kneeling king, arms [repaired] bent at elbows and held forward parallel to thighs, palms turned inwards.
Provenance/History: Van Leer's note that the piece was formerly Hoffmann Collection is apparently not correct, as he cites no. 468 of the Legrain catalogue of that collection, which is another bronze of a different size (see cat. 249, Paris, 1899).
Face: bulging eyes, eyes and brows with cosmetic lines, level wide mouth, 2 lines under throat.
Crown: nemes, high rounded top, points; frontlet not separated from ear tabs.
Uraeus: damaged or corroded, covered a large area on forehead.
Belt: wide, even width all the way around, level.
Body: wide shoulders, soft long torso, rounded belly area, round navel in short tear-drop depression.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–030; Van Leer, *Egyptische Oudheden*, no. 45, p. 19, pl.9; *Mededelingenblad* 44 (1988), p. 12, fig. 30 (van Haarlem); Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Geschenk*, p. 97, 206, fig. 62.

35. **Angers, Musée Pincé MTC 684**
Ht. 14.9 cm.
Text reference: 63
Brief description: striding king with the left arm bent forward and hands fisted.
Observations: Kushite-type cap with one uraeus, broad collar, wide decorated belt. Russmann, p. 67 enumerates the reasons she feels this bronze may date from slightly later than Dynasty 25: single uraeus which, furthermore, rises above head; absence of cord with rams amulets, wears instead a broad collar which she knows on only one Kushite bronze, a piece on the New York market; rather effeminate torso modeling. Formerly Musée Turpin de Crissé no. 5.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–050; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 32 n. 8, p. 67 no. IIB34, with previous bibliography; Affholder-Gérard *et al.*, *Angers*, pp. 48–9, ill.; Leahy, "Royal Iconography," p. 229 n. 34.

36. **Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 624**
H. 33.2 cm
Text reference: **K-13**, plate 41
Brief description: kneeling king, arms held forward, parallel palms inward.

Material notes: gilding visible underside kilt and proper right leg.
Manufacture: probably solid cast; 3 tangs.
Inscription: on belt in front (*Psmṯk*)
Provenance/History: ex-Demitriou collection (1880).
Face: round head, eyebrows and eyes naturally formed; smooth even face; no philtrum; small mouth; well articulated long right ear; left ear missing, left side of head and chin damaged; "edge" of face runs through eyeball.
Crown: Kushite skullcap with ringlets, band with uraei, streamers in back; all much defaced.
Uraeus: worked off quite cleanly, double tail still visible.
Belt: plain, level; "nail" head in middle of back
Body: extremely broad shoulders, median line, heavy breasts.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–048; Postolakas, *Demetrio*, p. 4 no. 166**;** Petrie, *History* III, p. 326; presumably Müller, "Königsbildnis," p. 62 n. 3; *Athens* 1995, p. 145, ill. (Psamtik I).

37. **Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 633**
Ht. 12.2 cm.
Text reference: **K-47**
Brief description: kneeling figure, hands held before body at waist level, palms turned inward; arms scored and nearly broken just below arm pit.
Provenance/History: ex Demetrio Collection (1880).
Inscription: no trace.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: possibly originally double, changed to one (communication to E. R. Russmann from B. V. Bothmer).
Bibliography: PM 800–817–050; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 59 no. IIB5 (previous bibliography listed); *Athens* 1995, p. 146, ill.

38. **Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 638**
Ht. 9.3 cm.
Text reference: 63
Brief description: kneeling figure, hands raised in gesture of adoration.
Provenance/History: ex Demetrio Collection (1880).
Inscription: no trace (communication to E. R. Russmann from B. V. Bothmer). This bronze has been referred to in sources as Psamtik I.
Crown: skullcap, proportionately quite small, with a smooth surface and lacking any streamers at the back.
Uraeus: single.
Body: summary modeling; no indication of pectorals or navel.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–050; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 68 no. IIB35; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 69; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, p. 46; De Meulenaere, "Review of *Portraiture*," col. 123 no. 5; Leahy, "Royal Iconography," p. 229 n. 34; *Athens* 1995, p. 145, ill.

39. **Athens, National Archaeological Museum, ANE 649**
Ht. 19.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-3**
Brief description: striding king holding forward a *shen* ring, the tie represented by a trapezoidal bottom element with incised vertical lines indicating lashings.
Manufacture: rectangular tang under each foot.
Inscription: flat underside of trapezoidal bottom element has cartouche containing name Psamtik.
Provenance/History: ex-Demetrio Collection (1880).
Face: full cheeks, small mouth
Crown: nemes with triple-striping pattern (Evers, *Staat* II pp. 11–14, "drei-strich") on head piece; no frontlet; lappets have closely spaced lines without pattern.
Uraeus: head broken, no loops, somewhat wavy tail over head to back of top.
Belt: droops beneath belly
Bibliography: PM 800–893–060; *Athens* 1995, p. 649, ill. (Psamtik I).

40. **Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 965**
Ht. 3 cm.
Text reference: **K-44**
Brief description: head of a royal figure.
Provenance/History: ex Demetrio Collection (1880).
Face: round, mouth slightly smiling.
Crown: short striated wig, topped by low flat crown modius.
Uraeus: double.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–060; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 59 no. IIB6, fig. 25 (previous bibliography listed).

41. **Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2001.16.1**
Ht. 11.9 cm.
Text reference: **K-20**
Brief description: striding, legs missing beneath knees; both arms forward, missing below elbows.
Observations: wearing Kushite headdress and regalia that have been defaced, one reduced uraeus visible; belt dips beneath belly, has pattern of vertical and horizontal groups of lines.
Bibliography: Paris, Drouot April 22–23, 2001 (sale catalog), no. 826 (ill.).

42. **Bahriya Oasis, no no.**
Ht. 10.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-18**, plate 63
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows, palms parallel.
Provenance/History: Ain el-Muftella in Bahriya Oasis.
Observations: formerly gilded; wears nemes; small head, corselet(?), broad collar(?); mediocre.
Bibliography: Fakhry, *Bahria*, pl. 10; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, p. 50; De Meulenaere, "Review of *Portraiture*," col. 124.

43. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 54.406**
Ht. 10.2 cm
Text reference: **NK-3**, plate 4 right
Brief description: standing (feet together) king, arms at sides
Material notes: solid cast, gilding apparent in various places over the whole figure.
Manufacture: socket on the underside of the small platform on which the figure stands. Borchardt either did not see or did not recall the platform in 1905 (in fact, he only knew some of the Ghurab finds from photographs), nor did it appear in the 1911 photograph at the Walters. However, Steindorff saw and described the platform as "worked separately, but certainly belonging to this figure." Visual conservation examination at the Walters did not answer the question of whether the platform was original to the object, but Terry Drayman-Weisser, Director of Conservation and Technical Research at the Walters, commented it would be very peculiar to simply add a socketed base to the bronze if it served no purpose.
Provenance/History: pictured as a piece of unknown whereabouts in Borchardt's reconstruction of Ghurab find; purchased in 1907 by Baltimore with no knowledge of that.
Face: narrow eyes, flattened nose, wide mouth.
Crown: Amarna "Nubian" wig.
Uraeus: large with tail "winding up to crown of head."
Jewelry: broad collar which hangs over shoulders.
Belt: Amarna sash or sash-kilt with thick belt area and either cloth sash or bead apron which then hangs down in front of body.
Body: poor modeling, very thin arms; Amarna compressed crescent navel; sash kilt.
Bibliography: Borchardt, *Porträtkopf*, p. 16 no. 5, fig. 16; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 47 no. 134, pl. XXII; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, p. 290 para. 352b.

44. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2093**
Ht. 17.7 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-8**, plate 17
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Material notes: formerly inset uraeus; remains of gilding, at proper right leg against kilt in crevice.
Manufacture: hole for separately made uraeus, no longer extant; hollow-cast including head, as demonstrated by a hole into interior above proper left ear; long t-shaped thick tangs, one under knees and one under feet, bent as if the casting slumped; rectangular hole underneath buttocks, possibly made secondarily to help mount the piece; arms were separately cast and attached mechanically by horizontal rectangular tenons fitted into mortises at the back of the shoulders.
Inscription: at front center of belt in a capsule formed by parentheses-shaped incised marks may be read *Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ štp· n-ỉmn*. Orthographic note: Usermaatre is written with the goddess ideogram, while the Sotepenimen epithet is written with the reed leaf preceding the *stp*, the *mn* characters above the *stp* and the genitival *n* below it.
Face: eyes fairly wide open, fully rimmed, brows plastic; raised pupils; small oval face, rather expressionless; mouth "drilled" at corners in wax model to create holes; earring holes.

Crown: nemes, high domed; wide frontlet close to brows; hair tab not separated from frontlet by a line.
Uraeus: missing from hole for insertion just above frontlet; presumably another metal.
Jewelry: broad collar with several rows and a bottom row of drops.
Belt: lozenge pattern in three rows; wide in back, somewhat narrower and somewhat dipping in front.
Body: flat, slim torso, nipples not marked(?), round navel; section below waist modeled independently; sharply marked hipbones; swelling thighs; figure leans forward a bit.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–069; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 68 no. 215, pl. XXXVI; Aldred, "Amun," p. 6 n. 10; M. Müller, "Kniende König," p. 126 n. 20.

45. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2094**
Ht. 8 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king with deformed arms and hands forward; knees higher than toes.
Observations: poor quality; khat headdress, large uraeus with no side loops, tail back over top of head; royal kilt with lines on lap erased (?); traces of gilding.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–050; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 46 no. 130, pl. XXII.

46. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2096**
Ht. 8.7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, hands holding *nw* pots near lap.
Observations: nemes with no frontlet, uraeus with rounded loops on either side and tail winding to top of head; abbreviated broad collar; tang between feet.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–051; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 46 no. 132, pl. XXII.

47. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2097**
Ht. 7.2 cm.
Text reference: 97
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbow, parallel to thighs, hands down.
Observations: blue crown with uraeus with tail running back over top, "twisted queue [presumably the long streamer] hanging down back from neck to waist;" bracelets and armbands; small rectangular base "for insertion into larger base;" for censer?
Provenance/History: "from Memphis."
Bibliography: PM 800–895–070; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 68 no. 214, pl. XXXV.

48. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2099**
Ht. 14.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with right hand palm inward (left missing); knees higher than feet.
Observations: wears nemes with no frontlet, large uraeus projecting over forehead with solid metal support behind hood back to nemes, head of uraeus missing, two small loops on either side; very wide borders to thick lappets; large eyes and pinched

rather projecting(?) mouth; elaborate broad collar; belt with vertical makings at intervals, lines in calves; broad tangs, one beneath knees and one beneath feet.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–052; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 46, no. 131, pl. XXII.

49. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2100**
Ht. 10.5 cm.
Text reference: 64
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and held forward at waist height, palms turned inwards.
Manufacture: tangs under feet and knees.
Provenance/History: “from Luxor.”
Face: small mouth with drooping corners.
Crown: cap with incised circles; the skullcap projects slightly from the forehead and creates a ledge, rather than merging with the forehead; on back of head a falcon with spread wings “holding a band;” long drop shaped horizontally striated streamers.
Uraeus: fairly high single uraeus with a small double loop placed behind the cobra hood, tail back over top of head.
Jewelry: broad collar.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–071; Steindorff, *Walters*, p.68 no. 216, pl. XXXVI.

50. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2101**
Ht. 14.9 cm.
Text reference: 89, 114
Brief description: striding king, arms forward and holding a ring at about abdomen height.
Manufacture: elaborate totally conformal core down into even legs where visible at heel; also visible at shoulder; repair in proper left arm at wrist; very little cuprite.
Face: realistic-type face.
Crown: nemes without frontlet; nemes “with alternating broad and narrow stripes,” lappets evenly striped.
Uraeus: head broken but hood has two rather deep vertical incisions.
Body: well-modeled.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–080; Legrain, *Hoffmann*, no. 431, ill.; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, sale catalog May 15, 1899 (H. Hoffmann collection), no. 39 p. 9, pl. III; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 67 no. 211, pl. XXXVI.

51. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2102**
Ht. 12.3 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-1**, plate 50
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward parallel to thighs, parallel palms inwards.
Material notes: slight traces of gilding.
Manufacture: very heavy; comparatively long (3.5 cm) heavy tangs under knees and feet.
Provenance/History: “found near pyramids.”
Face: strong, almost pudgy; eyes not rimmed but extensions at outer corners, plastic

brows straight over eyes, then curving onto temple; large wide nose; strong blunt mouth; small chin.
Crown: nemes, rather high domed, alternating broad and narrow stripes; narrow frontlet which runs above ears back to wings of nemes, wide hair tabs separated from frontlet.
Uraeus: begins right at/above frontlet; head missing; two strong vertical lines on hood; thick tail with wavy markings winds to the crown of the head.
Jewelry: broad collar.
Belt: rather wide, very level, undecorated.
Body: upright; very fleshy breast, marked median furrow visible in three-quarter view; nipples not marked, round navel.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–072; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 68 no. 213, pl. XXXVI.

52. **Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.2103**
Ht. 17.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-31**, plate 76
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward just below waist level, palms inward, slightly curved.
Manufacture: large tangs one beneath knees another beneath feet.
Provenance/History: “found near pyramids.”
Face: heavy and round, very nice natural eyes and brows.
Crown: nemes, very level narrow frontlet which meets wings fairly high above ears; nemes itself peaked, also hangs in heavy drape on back.
Uraeus: large hood, head broken, tail winding to crown of head.
Jewelry: broad collar.
Body: slightly inclined forward; softish body modeling; nice hands.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–073; Steindorff, *Walters*, p. 67 no. 212, pl. XXXVI.

53. **Basel, 1972**
Ht. 11.5 cm
Brief description: kneeling king in nemes, one arm missing from below shoulder, the other hand missing; arms lowered; knees higher than feet.
Observations: tang under knees and under feet.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–780; Münzen und Medaillen Auktion 46, dealer’s catalog April 28, 1972, no. 67 (ill.).

54. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2503**
Ht. 22 cm.
Text reference: 103, 113, 122, 146
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and hands holding *nw* pots at waist height.
NB This bronze, now missing, has the same provenance and description as the extremely similar bronze following, which is described in detail. Therefore, differences only are noted here.
Material notes: bronze (unpublished pre-WWII analysis, copper 87.61%, tin 7.39%, arsenic 0.07%, lead 4.92%, iron 0.2%, nickle and cobalt 0.07%).

Face: mouth appears small; chin is pointed.
Crown: white crown.
Uraeus: uraeus with loop on either side, tail winding up nearly to constriction in crown.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–090; Roeder, *Bronzewerke*, para. 292c; Roeder, *Bronze-figuren*, p. 292, para. 355c, pl. 44 d, e.

55. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2504**
Ht. 19.5 cm without tangs
Text reference: 103, 113, 146
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and hands holding *nw* pots (these are actually large flat *hollow* pots) at waist height. See also the previous bronze.
Material notes: leaded bronze (unpublished pre-WWII analysis, copper 88.47%, tin 6.5%, arsenic a trace, lead 4.44%, iron 0.32%, nickel and cobalt 0.5%, sulfur a trace, total 99.98%; published analysis Rathgen-Forschungslabor, 1978: copper 89.69%, tin 6%, lead 4.06% plus trace amounts of other elements).
Manufacture: very heavy; retains two narrow sprues each running from directly beneath the shins to a tang; the tangs are 3 cm high, very wide at 2.1 cm, and 1.1 cm deep.
Provenance/History: Passalacqua Collection, "from Memphis."
Face: natural single-arc brows, large eyes with upper and lower rims both markedly curved; very straight slightly crushed nose; wide flat mouth; very pointed chin; long smooth beard that is narrower at top than bottom from both front and side view; beard starts below the chin and is attached to the chest at the lower end.
Crown: red crown with a very tall cap, no frontlet, squared side tab; rolled edge in back but none in front; curled wire projection.
Uraeus: largish uraeus with thick double loop; head is rather small; no tail.
Belt: fairly wide plain belt, doesn't taper or dip except slightly in front; sits right at hip bones.
Body: upright; bipartition; neck small compared to broad shoulders and chest; pectorals strongly indicated, but no modeling of long upper chest above pectoral ridge; lower edges of rib cage are softly indicated; round deep navel in short tear-drop depression; torso is stocky, especially from the side; very marked ridges in legs, strongly marked gastroencemius muscle behind knee; outer toes are short and would not have rested on a surface.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–091; Roeder, *Bronzewerke*, para. 292c; Roeder, *Bronze-figuren*, p. 292 para. 355d, pl. 44 b, c; Riederer, "Berlin," p. 30.

56. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8399**
Ht. 5.15 cm.
Brief description: small kneeling king, arms broken at elbows.
Observations: white crown, uraeus tail extends up past the constriction onto the bulb of the crown.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–100; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, p. 292 para. 355g, pl. 44a.

57. **King Send**
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8433
Ht. 19.4 cm.
Text reference: 39, 44, 47, 74
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent upward at elbows so *nw* pots (tilted toward chest) are held at breast height (p. l. hand missing 2001); upper body leans forward a bit from hips though face directed forward.
Material notes: traces of gilding over whole figure.
Manufacture: large casting flaw (?) behind and slightly above p. r. ear; one preserved tang with irregular lower profile connected to inner edges of separated rear feet.
Provenance/History: Posno collection.
Inscription: on rear of belt (*nsw Snd*).
Face: small face, plastic eyes and brows (eyes inlaid? not remarked, but odd corrosion there), right eye seems larger than left; small smiling mouth.
Crown: white crown, seemingly with scanty tabs on the temples; lower rim of crown in front (only?) is in rounded relief; below this and between the two tabs at temples runs a "frontlet".
Uraeus: head broken?; hood has crude horizontal striations; tail winds up to the middle of the crown.
Belt: considerably wider in back, tapers to narrow middle of front.
Body: slim torso; stomach area separated from chest by the waist constriction and has its own circular pillow form with navel sunk in middle; upper thighs swell out beyond hips; thin, finely worked legs beneath skirt.
Condition: repair or restoration made at some time in the past (Roeder photos show two hands and pots) is no longer present.
Bibliography: von Bissing, "Äg. Bronzefiguren," p. 259 n. 2; *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Ausfuhrliches Verzeichnis*, p. 303; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, p. 292 para. 355c, pl. 44f; Wildung, *Rolle*, p. 51 Doc. XIII60, pl. IV 1 (possibly from Memphis, Dynasty 26).

58. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 10708**
Ht. 7.3 cm.
Text reference: 140
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows, extended parallel with thighs, hands and knees rest on bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box of censer (censer 45.6 cm).
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis Rathgen-Forschungslabor, 1978: copper 85.64%, 5.66% tin, 8.36% lead, plus trace amounts of other elements).
Inscription: Demotic inscription on both long sides of censer, dedicated to Isis by a man whose name is no longer readable.
Observations: poorly modeled; flat squashed blue crown with large formless uraeus projecting high; very soft belly.
Bibliography: *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin* 1967, pp. 81–82 no. 820; Riederer, "Berlin," p. 30; Brunner-Traut, *Osiris*, p. 57 no. 43, ill.; Schoske, *Schönheit*, p. 66 no. 16.

59. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 12459**
Ht. 12.5 cm
Text reference: **LPPt-28**, plate 73
Brief description: striding king, left arm down ending in fist, right bent at elbow with hand holding a thick inverted conical instrument with a narrow projection at right angles (Roeder suggests a key; possibly rather Roman *fasces* or axe from *fasces*; club of Herakles/Harpokrates is another possibility, but there is little resemblance to the usual form); a sort of rope-like shawl is looped around shoulders, ends hanging down left side (toga?).
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis Rathgen-Forschungslabor, 1978: 84.91% copper, 8.44% tin, 5.99% lead, plus trace amounts of other elements).
Manufacture: not clear that the piece ever had tangs; apparently solid cast.
Provenance/History: purchased 1894, Cairo; Reinhardt Collection.
Face: natural brows; eyes somewhat sketchy, droop towards outer corners, center of eyes looking somewhat upwards?
Crown: cap with frontlet and rolled edge in back, tab emerges from under rolled edge, looks like a curl facing ear.
Uraeus: uraeus sits on upper edge of frontlet, has wide hood, almost invisible small loops either side of it.
Belt: level undecorated belt.
Body: flaccid shoulders and torso, nipples marked by punch-like marks, high navel; tiny kilt.
Bibliography: Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, p. 19 para. 18b, p. 304 para. 373b, p. 428 para. 587b; Riederer, “Berlin,” p. 31.

60. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 20615**
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: **K-33**
Brief description: striding figure holding *hes* vase in right hand, left forearm and feet broken.
Material notes: low lead bronze (published analysis Rathgen-Forschungslabor, 1978: 90.47% copper, 7.34% tin, 1.79% lead, and small or trace amounts of other elements).
Provenance/History: Meroe City, Garstang excavations, findspot unknown (ex H. Kennard collection).
Observations: eroded surface; Kushite cap, double uraei, neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–100; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 59 no. IIB7 with earlier bibliography; Riederer, “Berlin,” p. 27; Török, *Meroe City*, no. x-g on p. 260 and pl. 210–211 (not realizing the piece is in Berlin).

61. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 26159**
Ht. 8.5 cm
Brief description: kneeling king, one arm missing, the other downward, hand palm inward (London photo).
Observations: wears nemes; thick breast, sweet face. Tang under knees, another

under bar connecting feet.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–100; Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 16–19, 1912 (Kennard Collection), no. 142 and plate 3 (left hand still preserved at that time); Kischkewitz, "Eine Statuette des Amasis" with ill. (as Amasis).

62. **Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 34393** (**formerly 35/74**)
Ht. 15.5 cm.
Text reference: **K-8**, plate 37
Brief description: kneeling king, hands gone.
Manufacture: tang under feet only.
Inscription: erased inscription on belt buckle.
Face: Kushite, strong nose furrows.
Crown: white crown with no elaboration.
Uraeus: one, modified from an earlier two.
Jewelry: damage around neck/chest where Kushite cord and amulets would have been.
Belt: alternating groups of horizontal and vertical lines; consistent width; slight dip in front.
Body: strong pectorals; strong rounded, even bulging, shoulders; bipartition; back slightly creased.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–110; Bothmer, *Bastis*, p. 41 comment; *Neuerwerbungen*, p. 4, no. 9, ill.; *Museum, Berlin 1981*, p. 94, ill.; Wildung, *Sudan*, p. 178, ill.

63. **Boston** (**site of exhibition**)**, private collection**
Ht. 8.5 cm.
Brief description: striding, arms forward, hands fisted (?).
Observations: blue/cap crown and uraeus; slender figure; hands?; small integral base.
Provenance/History: Mr. and Mrs. Berry Boswell Brooks.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–820; Fogg, *Ancient Art*, p. 19, no. 29, ill.

64. **Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 72.4433**
Ht. 8 cm.
Text reference: **K-48**
Brief description: kneeling king, feet missing, right arm missing, left arm bent at elbow, extends downward toward thigh (possibly arm has shifted on its tang, since it hangs particularly low), open palm facing inward.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Manufacture: arms cast separately and attached, tenon which emerges to surface on top edge of shoulder.
Provenance/History: ex Way Collection.
Face: eyes rather large, nose and mouth small; round cheeks.
Crown: Kushite cap, but single streamer, which has horizontal striations.
Uraeus: single, very tall, rising well above top of head.
Body: youthful torso modeling; calf muscles marked by parallel grooves.

Observations: Russmann, p. 68, enumerates the reasons she believes this figure may have been made a little after the end of Dynasty 25: 1) single uraeus 2) and very tall uraeus body rising high above the crown of the head; 3) the single streamer, with its markings; 4) absence of neck cord with ram's head amulets; 5) grooves of leg muscles, unknown for Kushite bronzes when she wrote and in relief found only under Taharqo and later Napatan kings; 6) the fact that the arms were cast separately and attached, a feature Russmann did not know on Kushite bronzes, though she cautioned that she often had to rely on photographs of badly encrusted surfaces.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–130; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 32 n. 8, p. 68 IIB36 (previous bibliography is listed), fig. 26; Leahy, "Royal Iconography," p. 229 n. 34.

65. **Boston, MFA 86.264**
H. of king 5.8 cm.
Text reference: 114
Brief description: kneeling king in nemes who sits before feet of a broken Bastet on top of a box (contains something?); king's hands raised in worship.
Observations: poor face, heavy nose and lips, bulging eyes; no trace of a tang, but surface very corroded.
Provenance/History: from Naukratis, a large find of bronzes thrown into the fill of a "house" (located adjacent to a temple precinct) that Petrie dated by Greek pottery to the early Ptolemaic Period.
Bibliography: Petrie, *Naukratis*, pp. 41–2 (not ill.).

66. **Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 87.445**
Ht. 6.4 cm (**with tang 7.3 cm**)
Text reference: 63
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent forward at elbows, palms inwards.
Observations: cap crown with uraeus; remains of tang beneath.
Provenance/History: from Tell Nabasha.
Bibliography: Petrie, *Nebesheh*, p. 27 (not ill.).

67. **Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 87.480**
Ht. 12 cm.
Text reference: 101, 103, 114
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent forward from elbows, parallel palms inwards.
Observations: features abraded away; broad shoulders, powerful breast, narrowing to still relatively broad waist; blue crown with a single streamer in back which is looped at neck then descends to the bottom of the shoulder blades; tang not visible as fixed into wooden base.
Provenance/History: Tell Gumaiyima, one of two kings (the other not located) found in association with remains of what appears to be a portable shrine decorated with glass inlay elements and equipped with bronze fittings; found in a building that the excavator Griffith thought had been reused by artisans, inside a large temenos; he suggested a date to the early Ptolemaic Period based on his general evaluation of the area being excavated, glass inlays which he thought might be parts of Ptolemaic

cartouches, and "a piece of Greek pottery, a small black and buff bowl of bad glaze" **-** p. 44; much of the other material is in the British Museum).
Bibliography: Griffith in Petrie, *Nebesheh*, pp. 39–40, entire find pp. 35–47 and pls. 18–21 (king not ill.).

68. **Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.3096**
Ht. 19.9 cm.
Text reference: **K-21**, plate 45
Brief description: striding figure, holding *maat*, legs broken off above the knees.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Provenance/History: Gebel Barkal, Temple B.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Condition: surface very poorly preserved; modern regilding for study purposes.
Bibliography: PM VII, 222; Russmann, "Aspects," p. 155 nn. 39, 44; Dunham, *Barkal*, p. 43 top left, pl. 47e; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 59 no. IIB8 (where earlier bibliography is listed); Haynes, *Nubia*, p. 27 fig. 20.

69. **Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.443**
Ht. 15 cm.
Text reference: **K-14**, plate 42
Brief description: striding figure, left leg forward, right arm bent at elbow and hand fisted, left hanging at side; right foot broken off, left (with tang) bent to the side.
Material notes: heavy; traces of gold.
Provenance/History: Karnak Cachette (see ILN below).
Face: quite asymmetrical; large cheeks, protruding lips, no smile, small chin.
Crown: skullcap, circles marked; band of cobras; wings on back of cap.
Uraeus: double, crowned?
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–150; *Illustrated London News*, January 28, 1905, p. 131 no. 4a as "King Faraga (?) gilded bronze (about 700 B.C.)," in a spread on pieces cleared from the Karnak Cachette; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 60 IIB9, fig. 17 (earlier bibliography).

70. **Statuette of a king placed on an ancient base** (**inscribed for Necho II**) **for which it was not intended**
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.637 [**statuette under investigation**]
Ht. 21 cm.
Text reference: 3, 81
Brief description: king kneeling on an inscribed base, arms bent forward at elbows, resting(?) on thighs (attached by corrosion?), holding *nw* pots.
Note: stylistic considerations of the king aside, a number of factors suggest to the author, and the MFA concurs, that the royal statuette (which is being evaluated by the museum) is not associated with the base and therefore does not necessarily represent Necho II as is frequently stated. Some of the factors are: 1) the offering table incised on base is oriented toward the king when it ought to be oriented toward the figure

being offered *to*; 2) the surface of the base retains a darker rectangular area which is larger than and does not conform to the lower edge of the kneeling king, and which probably represents a footprint left by the original bronze – probably the throne of a god or goddess, perhaps Neith (see inscription on base).
Material notes: inlay in eyes.
Inscription: the royal statuette is uninscribed; the base bears cartouches containing the names (*Nkꜣw*) and (*Wḥm-ỉb-Rˁ*), described as beloved of Neith, the great, mother of the god and Neith the mistress of heaven, plus a prayer on behalf of a private official, and is further decorated.
Face: small triangular face, apparently natural brows and natural, perhaps buttonhole eyes, eyes not tilted, small thin straight mouth; depressions on either side of face between cheeks and nose; large ears.
Crown: nemes, extremely broad at upper corners; highest point of nemes is far back on head; lappets are bordered on both sides; frontlet broad; tiny, slightly rounded hair tabs; thick tail of nemes.
Uraeus: begins above upper edge of the frontlet; uraeus stands high away from head; 2 symmetrical loops on either side; tail extends straight back to the rear of the head.
Jewelry: armlets with decoration of vertical lines; very simple crude broad collar.
Belt: thin, undecorated(?), very low on narrow hips; level.
Body: pectorals are soft and prominent, abdomen exceedingly flaccid and prominent; navel in deep, long, tear-drop shaped depression; .
Bibliography: PM 800–823–100; Dunham, *BMFA* 70 (1972), no. 359, pp. 18–19, fig. 11; Simpson, *Burlington Magazine* 114 no. 829 (April 1972), p. 241 fig. 45; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 63; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 47, 56; M. Müller, "Kniende König," pp. 121, 127 n. 25; often mentioned.

71. **Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 61.20**
Ht. 12.8 cm.
Text reference: 21
Brief description: standing sphinx on a standard with two uraei in front of its legs.
Observations: small triangular face, eyes and brows with cosmetic lines, small mouth; incised decoration with traces of gilding.
Bibliography: Fazzini, *Images*, pp. 92 (ill.), 136 with earlier references (Rameside).

72. **Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 69.73**
Ht. 11.6 cm.
Text reference: **K-11**, plate 40
Brief description: kneeling figure, arms broken off above elbows; possibly Taharqo per Russmann.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Inscription: on belt, erased.
Face: eyes, large brows horizontal at nose; slight cheek fold; mouth slightly upcurved, not very protuberant.
Crown: skullcap with incised circles and band of cobras.
Uraeus: double, cut to one.

Jewelry: neck cord, partially erased in front.
Body: nipples indicated; strong median line.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–200; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, pp. 19 n. 5, 20, 29 n. 2, 32–3 n. 8, 33 n. 1, 35 n. 4, 60 no. IIB10 (includes previous bibliography), fig. 16; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, p. 33; Bothmer, *Bastis*, p. 41 comment.

73. **Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 72.129**
Ht. 37 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-30**, plate 75
Brief description: striding bronze king, right arm at side holding folded cloth, left arm bent to horizontal and forward from elbow, fist turned horizontally.
Manufacture: solid cast; base has tang underneath.
Provenance/History: ex Gorringe Collection.
Face: facial features realistic with deep furrows under eyes and on cheeks; brows arch from nose bridge, hairs of the right brow indicated by small incised lines; nose very pointed in profile; mouth corners strongly downturned; beard on chin and cheeks; ears large and crudely formed.
Crown and uraeus: stylized headpiece assimilated to the nemes with prominent forepart over forehead; lappets striated vertically, the vertical bands decorated with herringbone and horizontal markings; pigtail and back of headcloth marked in similar fashion; small circles in the interstice where vertical bands part above the pigtail, and on sides of head as if worn over a cap crown (?).
Jewelry: indication of shirt or broad collar with neckline and then vertical grooves.
Body: body muscular and well-proportioned; wears an unpleated version of shendyt kilt.
Condition: body area rough.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–120; Mercer, *RT* 36 (1914) 176–178, ill.; Mercer, *Ancient Egypt* 1916 part II, pp. 51 and 95–6, ill. (Petrie: Ptolemy X Lathyros); Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy* (Chicago**,** 1921/1985), fig. 59 (as late Ptolemaic); Capart, “Bronze Gorringe,” pp. 21–22, fig. 9; M. Müller, “Kniende König,” p. 127.

74. **Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 76.105.2**
Ht. 7 cm.
Text reference: 63, 114
Brief description: king standing on his own small platform base inserted in a larger metal base before an ichneumon; king holds arms down and forward, hands turned inward as if holding something of which traces are preserved against his skirt (a *shen* ring?).
Observations: cap, high single uraeus.

75. **Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 81.184**
Ht. 12.2 cm.
Text reference: **K-38**
Brief description: striding, left arm extended slightly before left thigh, open palm turned inward; right arm broken just above elbow, also extended, presumably originally in same position as left arm.

Manufacture: king stands atop a small integral rectangular base; remains of a single tang beneath base.
Face: heavy; narrow eyes, jowly cheeks; neck quite thick in proportion to body.
Crown: skullcap, on the back wings of a falcon; diadem encircling the cap, two streamers hanging from rear.
Uraeus: two, their bodies coiling over the crown of the head and falling over the rear of the diadem.
Jewelry: broad collar, composed of an upper band, then a row of circular elements, and two rows of tube beads (?).
Body: narrow shoulders, nipples indicated, trough-like navel furrow.

76. **Brussels, private collection**
H. 17 cm.
Text reference: 36
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Observations: wears nemes which is very flat on top with single uraeus; harsh features, long smooth beard; very long torso with heavy pectorals; arms were cast separately and attached from back by means of tenons fitting into mortises.
Bibliography: PM 800–818–100; Tefnin in *Du Nil a L'Escaut*, no. 246, pp. 199–200, ill. (Dynasty 25).

77. **Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E5635**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, forearms restored.
Observations: nemes with lappets that slant inwards; poor quality.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–140; De Wit, "Statuette," fig. 2 and discussion.

78. **Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E 6942**
Ht. 8.1 cm.
Text reference: **K-24**
Brief description: kneeling; arms bent at elbows, palms facing in.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T, reg. no. 0973.
Face: features thick.
Crown: skullcap with punched circles, wide bandeau and band of cobras.
Uraeus: double, crowned.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Body: no median line or indication of nipples.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 60 no. IIB11 (previous bibliography noted), fig. 18.

79. **Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Museum no. unknown**
H. unknown
Brief description: kneeling; arms bent at elbows, right broken, left held forward at a downward angle over thigh and downward-turned hand supported on a metal rod; appears possibly made for a censer, though Budapest thinks it may be associated

with a small crowned bull.
Observations: small; blue crown; poor modeling.

80. **Cairo, Michailidis Collection**
H. unknown
Brief description: kneeling king , arms broken above elbows.
Observations: nemes.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–775; Franke, *Müller Archive*, II/2104 and 2106**.**

81. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum, number not known**
Ht. unknown
Text reference: 115
Brief description: striding king, hands raised in adoration, inset in a larger base opposite a group of gods and ibis.
Observations: very slender flat-bodied figure, wearing nemes, on a small flat integral base.
Provenance/History: excavated at Tuna el-Gebel.
Bibliography: Gabra, *ASAE* 39 (1939) p. 495; Müller, "Eines ungewöhnliche Metallfigur," p. 21–22 and *passim*, fig. 17a.

82. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 821**
Ht. 15 cm.
Text reference: 88
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward parallel to thighs, palms inward.
Manufacture: solid cast; tangs under knees and toes.
Provenance/History: Saqqara, Serapeum.
Face: plastic brows and cosmetic lines; mouth strangely compressed.
Crown: nemes with frontlet meeting the top of the ear, and hair tabs separated from frontlet by incised line.
Uraeus: huge, standing above head, has large head itself, double loop, tail running back over top of head.
Belt: narrow, curved beneath abdomen.
Body: incised neckline and line below pectorals as if to mark a shirt and corselet, but no lines on arms; broad shoulders; tripartition(?); high waist; nipples not marked, navel round at the bottom of a short depression.
Bibliography: Borchardt, *Statuen* III, CG 821 (ill.).

83. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 822**
Ht. 18.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-2**
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held forward just above waist height, holding *nw* pots.
Manufacture: tangs under knees and feet.
Provenance/History: Saqqara, Serapeum, July 1858.
Face: roundish, rather large features, flattened nose.

Crown: nemes with narrow frontlet and hair tabs.
Uraeus: begins at bottom of frontlet; double loop, tail.
Belt: fairly broad and fairly straight.
Bibliography: Borchardt, *Statuen*, III, CG 822 (ill.).

84. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 823**
Ht. 8 cm.
Text reference: **K-39**
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and hands held held parallel to thighs; hands fisted(?).
Provenance/History: bought in l894.
Face: small features, battered.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets, the center one with a disk.
Body: no median line or indication of nipples; navel is a vertical slot.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–250; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 61 no. IIB12 (previous bibliography listed).

85. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 52701**
H. about 18 cm
Text reference: 8
Brief description: striding king in nemes under falcon's beak.
Provenance/History: Hierakonpolis.
Bibliography: Vernier, *Bijoux*, p. 234, also see references in chapter entitled "Cupreous Statuary through the New Kingdom."

86. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR 28/4/21/10**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Text reference: 101
Brief description: kneeling, hands palms inwards.
Observations: in nemes; poorish round face with large features, poor modeling; wears broad collar; hands supported by struts.

87. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR 8/5/21/1**
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: 122
Brief description: striding, holds *hes* vase, other arm bent forward at elbow, palm downwards.
Observations: in nemes; small integral base.

88. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR 8/5/21/2** (**JE 686—**)
Ht. 12 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, arms forward, parallel palms inward; either leaned forward, or knees were raised above toes.
Observations: nemes; large features; large uraeus; necklace; poor casting, arms

supported by struts, large triangular tang visible under knees.
Provenance/History: Serapeum?

89. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR 8/5/21/3**
Ht. 17 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, *nw* pots in hands resting on thighs.
Observations: in white crown, full, pleasant face; thin platform base with front and back edges curved downwards.

90. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR 8/4/70/10**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Text reference: **K-17**
Brief description: kneeling, arms broken off above elbows.
Provenance/History: ex Albert Eid Collection (1950).
Inscription: defaced, on front of belt.
Face: large eyes, brows apparently in relief; very broad full cheeks and small mouth; nose and chin broken.
Crown: skullcap with circles indicated; broad band with an exceedingly rudimentary band of cobras (reduced to a triple row of squares) above; streamers; wings appear to be incised on back of the head.
Uraeus: was double – two tails can clearly be seen in back; front damaged, apparently cut down to form a single cobra body.
Jewelry: none visible.
Belt: wide, tapers back to front.
Body: fairly stocky; pectorals well marked; slight swelling rib cage; abdomen with tear-drop navel; leg muscles not indicated.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–270; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, pp. 19 n. 5, 20, 28 n. 7, 61 no. IIB13, fig. 20; Brooklyn Museum, *Africa in Antiquity* II, p. 171 n. 82: Bothmer, *Bastis*, p. 41 comment.

91. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 27477**
Ht. 16 cm
Text reference: **LPPt-29**, plate 74
Brief description: kneeling king, arms downward and forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: flattened blue crown, uraeus with small head curving out of large hood over two small circular loops; large eyes, wide mouth downturned at corners, torso with strongly marked pectorals, ridges under ribs. Purchased.

92. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 30733**
Ht. 10.5 cm.
Text reference: 146
Brief description: kneeling, holding *nw* pots in hands; either leaned forward or knees were raised above toes.
Observations: wearing nemes with *ḥmḥm;* hands supported by struts; tangs beneath knees.

Provenance/History: “Sag [sic] el Hagar, 1893,” either Tanis or Sais.

93. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33034** (**associated with cladding for base inscribed for Pepi I**)
H. 1.7 m
Text reference: 7
Brief description: striding figure.
Observations: crown missing; high edge over forehead may indicate a high crown; inlaid eyes; hip area of body in another material.
Manufacture: hammered.
Inscription: associated copper cladding for a base inscribed for King Pepi I.
Provenance/History: Hierakonpolis
Bibliography: Romano, “Sixth Dynasty,” pp. 238–9 and passim (with previous significant bibliography); Eckmann and Shafik.

94. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33035**
H. .75 m
Text reference: 7
Brief description: striding male figure
Observations: short curled hair, inlaid eyes; attachment holes for uraeus and others behind the head thought to be for falcon; cuttings and attachment holes for a shendyt kilt.
Manufacture: hammered.
Provenance/History: Hierakonpolis
Bibliography: as previous

95. **Senwosret**
Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 35687
L. about 6.8 cm
Text reference: 15
Brief description: prostrate king on a censer.
Observations: nemes; apparently with “realistic” features.
Provenance/History: Deir el-Ballas
Bibliography: Fischer, “Prostrate,” fig. 16; Lacovara, “Deir el-Ballas,” p. 120 n. 1.

96. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38123bis**
Ht. 14.4 cm with aegis, face approximately 5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-25**, plate 70
Brief description: aegis with head of a king.
Observations: inlaid with gold; wearing nemes; full face, natural brows forming a single arc.
Provenance/History: found at Tukh el Qaramus in a context suggesting a date to Ptolemy III or earlier.
Bibliography: Edgar, “Toukh el-Qaramous,” p. 206; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 271 no. KTK 54 and pl. 28b-c; G. Grimm, *Alexandria*, pp. 56–7; Pfrommer, *Alexandria*, pp. 34, 39; Stanwick, *Portraits* A7.

97. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41719**
Ht. 25.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-24**, plate 69
Brief description: striding king, holding *shen* ring (bottom of ring turned toward chest), feet missing.
Observations: nemes; natural brows and eye rims, eyes very widely spaced in full face with wide full mouth; bipartition with strong tripartition, and belt slung low under belly.
Provenance/History: Mit Rahina, 1909

98. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 91434**
Ht. 20 cm, tangs included
Text reference: **TIP-18**, plate 27
Brief description: kneeling, arms missing.
Manufacture: arms were cast separately and attached by means of horizontal slots behind shoulders; two holes, one on top of head and one at brow, for attachment of uraeus, presumably gold; one tang under knees, another under toes.
Provenance/History: Saqqara, SAN, Falcon Catacomb, from gallery 19, cache 10 (1969–70 season), FCO-318.
Face: eyes have unusual downward slanting cosmetic lines and raised irises; nick visible in one ear, not in the other.
Crown: nemes
Uraeus: missing, was inlaid.
Jewelry: broad collar, rather well made.
Belt: very thin.
Body: modeling here appears very dead.
Bibliography: Emery, "North Saqqara," pl. VII fig. 5; Davies and Smith, *Falcon Complex*, forthcoming.

99. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 91436**
Ht. 26 cm including tangs
Text reference: **TIP-17**, plate 26
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held before chest, left hand holds *wedjat* eye, right is held behind the *wedjat*.
Material notes: traces of gilding remaining on crown, streamers, kilt, belt, and *wedjat*.
Manufacture: hollow cast; arms separately cast, attached by means of slots from the top of the shoulder; a tang beneath knees and one beneath feet; head and crown are hollow indicating statue is hollow cast; traces of copper core supports are preserved inside the crown.
Provenance/History: Saqqara, SAN, Falcon Catacomb, H5–2381 [4586], FCO-258, from gallery 19 cache 10, 1969–70 season.
Face: thick plastic brows and a plastic upper eye lid rim, both with cosmetic lines; nose is curved, mouth small and unsmiling against angular jaw; lines under throat.
Crown: white crown, diameter increasing only above mid-section, no frontlet, long rounded tabs above ears.

Uraeus: low-placed with tail extending mid-way up crown.
Belt: vertical lines visible.
Body: broad shoulders, long hip to knee length.
Bibliography: Emery, "North Saqqara," p. 6 bottom, pl. VII fig. 4; Tiradritti, *Treasures*, p. 359; Davies and Smith, *Falcon Complex*, forthcoming.

100. **Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 91489**
Ht. 7 cm.(**?**)
Text reference: 103
Brief description: kneeling, poorly modeled, arms lying on thighs? and knees cast on to the bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box on the shaft of a censer.
Observations: king wears a flattened blue crown, "uraeus lies flat on top"; knees attached to rim of pellet box; Green dates 4th-3rd century.
Provenance/History: Saqqara, SAN.
Bibliography: Green, *Temple Furniture*, p. 40 no. 85, fig. 60, 61.

101. **Cambridge, Fitzwilliam, E.4504.1943**
Ht. 4 cm.
Text reference: 18
Brief description: head of a king.
Observations: youthful features, slanted wide-set eyes, fleshy cheeks, pierced ears; wears blue crown with coiled uraeus.
Material notes: bronze (published analysis: 11% tin, 2.5% lead).
Bibliography: PM 800–745–100; Vassilika, "Egyptian Bronze," pp. 292–3, ill.; Vassilika, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, pp. 54–5, ill. (Amenhotep III).

102. **Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.74.1954**
H. 31 cm.
Text reference: **K-45**, plate 49
Brief description: striding king holding *maat* (?).
Material notes: possibly vertical depressions in crown were inlaid.
Manufacture: arms cast separately and attached with mortise and tenon system; corrosion or piece of base (?) seems to connect the two feet
Face: round, bulging eyes, small unsmiling mouth.
Crown: atef with disk on top.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: none.
Belt: plain, dips somewhat.
Body: good modeling, strong navel furrow.

103. **Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.4.1969**
Ht. 7.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-36**, plate 80
Brief description: kneeling king holding *nw* pots, either leans forward or knees had to be raised higher than toes.
Manufacture: tang below feet

Provenance/History: Saqqara, EEF Excavations at Sacred Animal Necropolis, H-5–218, no. 890; 1966–67 Cache 2 in the N Enclosure, E of center in drift sand (JEA 53 plan), therefore deposited in fill of N Enclosure, probably early in Smith Phase III, *i.e.* probably late 4th–early 2nd century [Harry Smith letter 1/15/98].
Face: very large eyes, curved nose, smile, horizontally ribbed short beard.
Crown: red crown with curled appendage; seam around upper surface (?); frontlet.
Uraeus: 2 small loops at base of uraeus

104. **Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.3.1974**
Ht. 6.7 cm.
Text reference: **K-12**
Brief description: kneeling, arms broken off at elbows.
Manufacture: one tang under knees, broken; traces of gilding on kilt.
Face: small curved mouth.
Crown: Kushite skullcap, streamers in back.
Uraeus: double, altered to one.
Jewelry: neckcord, probably rams' heads defaced.
Condition: toes broken off.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–290; Sotheby's London, sale catalog April 29, 1974, p. 51 no. 233, ill.

105. **Chicago, Art Institute 93.22** (**at the OI with no. 18026**)
Ht. ca. 7.5 cm
Brief description: kneeling king, hands open with palms facing inward.
Observations: nemes; very slender arms and legs.
Bibliography: Thomas Allen, *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* [*of the Art Institute of Chicago*] (Chicago, 1923) p. 106.

106. **Chicago, Art Institute 1894.257**
Ht. about 15 cm.
Text reference: 72
Brief description: standing sphinx on a standard.
Observations: Kushite-type facial features; bearded.

107. **Chicago, Field Museum 173238**
H. 10 cm.
Text reference: **K-42**
Brief description: striding Kushite king, arms broken above elbows, legs at knees.
Provenance/History: formerly André Bircher collection.
Face: unclear.
Crown: cap details corroded, streamer preserved.
Uraeus: large corroded area.
Jewelry: neck cord with rams heads.
Belt: plain (?), dips a bit in front.
Body: strong median line.
Condition: badly corroded face.

Bibliography: Earl Ertman, "Kushite King," ill.

108. **Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 11384**
Ht. 12.6 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes; tangs from knees and toes; uraeus with loops beside, no tail on top.

109. **Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 13954**
Ht. 20.5 cm.
Text reference: **K-46**, plate 48
Brief description: striding king, arms held out in front of body and spread wide, palms inward.
Material notes: gold inlay in eyes; apparent traces of further gilding on the back of p. l. leg in an archival dealer's photo.
Manufacture: large depression in middle of chest; porous cast; no tangs visible -broken off?
Face: sharp brow, eyes apparently without cosmetic lines, sharp nose, large straight mouth, no apparent Kushite fold.
Crown: Kushite cap, no ringlets, no apparent uraeus band on bandeau.
Uraeus: double, crowned.
Jewelry: Kushite necklace.
Body: broad shoulders, narrow waist, kilt with overgarment or apron topped by leopard head, very sharply faceted legs; odd round depression in chest.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–300; *KMT* 3 no. 3 (Fall 92) 35.

110. **Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, 17580**
Ht. 17 cm.
Brief description: no image seen, museum information; kneeling king; arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: wearing nemes and broad collar; integral base; uraeus without loops.

111. **Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 14.575**
Ht. 11 cm., tang 1.7 cm.
Text reference: 101
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and held forward and down, hands missing.
Observations: nemes with alternating broad and narrow stripes, narrow frontlet with no hair tabs(?), fully bordered lappets; uraeus with head broken, no loop, tail back over the crown of head to the back; face is broad and round, large eyes, plastic brows and cosmetic strips, small ears; broad collar indicated by lines, very narrow belt; body very poorly modeled, broad puffy chest, spindly arms, pudgy hips; feet very strongly bent, or damaged?; kilt of simple vertical lines.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–160; Berman, *Cleveland Catalogue*, pp. 458–9, ill. (K. J. Bohac).

112. **Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antikensammlung 9381**
Ht. 14.3 cm.
Text reference: **K-22**, plate 46
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held parallel to thighs, palms inward.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Provenance/History: Kawa Temple A; reg. no. 0135.
Crown: skullcap with dotted surface, rudimentary band of cobras, double streamer.
Uraeus: single with large wide hood.
Jewelry: neck cord with center amulet and apparently two at sides.
Condition: surface badly corroded, especially face.
Bibliography: PM VII 183 (also listed on p. 189); Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 62 no. IIB14.

113. **Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 605**
Ht. 9 cm.
Text reference: **K-3**, plate 32
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and *nw* pots held up about shoulder height.
Provenance/History: bought in Egypt, 1895.
Observations: Kushite regalia.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–310; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 62 no. IIB15 (previous bibliography listed).

114. **Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1696**
Ht. 7.6 cm.
Text reference: **K-25**
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows slightly, palms inward.
Manufacture: long tangs under knees and feet.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T? (reg. no. 0646).
Crown: skullcap with circles as punched dots and band of cobras.
Uraeus: double, crowned?
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 62 no. IIB16 (previous bibliography listed).

115. **Dallas, Collection of Alan M. May**
Ht. 5.3 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, broken arms, feet broken.
Material notes: blackish color (is it bronze?) to metal; inlaid with gold or possibly electrum.
Manufacture: no tangs preserved.
Face: trapezoidal shaped face, eyes rimmed with gold, pinched mouth, broad collar.
Crown: nemes inlaid with gold.
Uraeus: large upright uraeus.
Jewelry: broad collar.

Body: broad chest, heavy breasts, chest flat over rib cage, belt inlaid with silver.
Bibliography: Christie's New York, sale catalog October 26, 1994, no. 61, ill.

116. **Dallas, Collection of Alan M. May**
Ht. 7 cm.
Text reference: 97, 102, 112
Brief description: kneeling king, hands missing.
Manufacture: base plate no larger than figure; tangs not visible set in modern base.
Face: long rectangular face, wide mouth, long ears.
Crown: blue crown, seamed edges, single streamer from base of crown at back of neck where it is separated slightly from neck and then runs down to waist of kilt.
Uraeus: small, rises between two small round loops.
Belt: wide; even width.
Body: heavy breasts; settled somewhat around waist, paunchy.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–660; Sotheby's Monaco, sale catalog December 5, 1987 (Béhague Collection), no. 84; Samarkand, Paris, dealer's catalog November 1988, no. 47, ill.

117. **Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1882.59.5**
Ht. 7.7 cm.
Brief description: no image seen, based on museum notes; kneeling king.
Observations: atef and nemes.

118. **Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1882.59.9**
Ht. 6.8 cm.
Brief description: no image seen, based on museum notes; kneeling king.
Observations: skull cap with uraeus.

119. **Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1953.195**
Ht. 9 cm including tangs
Brief description: no image seen, based on museum notes; king kneeling "to present an offering."
Observations: blue crown; dated by them to 20–25th dynasties.

120. **Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1965.473**
Ht. 4 cm.
Text reference: 37, 112
Brief description: no image seen, based on museum notes; kneeling king, presenting a *wedjat* eye amulet, held in front of him with left hand and supported with right.
Observations: nemes.

121. **Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1971.131**
Ht. 9.4 cm.
Text reference: **K-19**
Brief description: striding with arms at sides; right arm, slightly bent, holds a *hes* jar; left arm straight, clenched fist, perforated.

Manufacture: short legs and poor feet suggest imperfect casting.
Provenance/History: Saqqara; excavated in 1970 by W. Emery for Egypt Exploration Society; excavation no. H5.1197, inv. no. 2949 cache 4.
Crown: skullcap with circles marked; rudimentary cobra band, streamers.
Uraeus: double; appear to have been crowned.
Jewelry: neck cord with three rams' heads.
Body: torso relatively well modeled; pectorals and muscles of upper arm indicated; legs very short (see manufacture).
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 62 no. IIB17.

122. **Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus l772**
Ht. 12.5 cm.
Text reference: 69, 88
Brief description: kneeling, left arm missing, right bent at elbow and follows (attached to?) thigh, hand missing.
Manufacture: defective statuette; hollow cast, core not present, remains of a wide tang under feet.
Observations: face round and somewhat crooked; rather wide nemes with fairly wide frontlet running over ears, not separated from hair tabs; uraeus sits on upper edge of frontlet, horizontal striations on hood, double loop, fairly straight tail running to top of head; engraved v neckline of a shirt.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–222; von Droste, *Liebieghaus*, pp. 244–246 no. 120, ill.

123. **Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus l846**
Ht. 12.3 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-9**, plate 57 left
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows parallel to thighs (supported by connecting piece), hands open inwards.
Manufacture: solid cast, rather long tangs compared to body (3.3 cm.), feet rest on a small cross-piece of solid metal.
Provenance/History: reportedly from the cemeteries at Memphis.
Inscription: not very readable signs (less clear than companion piece 1847) on the back of the footplate; possibly reads *pḥ*.
Face: narrow, oval; relief brows and cosmetic lines; small mouth, upper lip extending over lower.
Crown: nemes, no frontlet or only very thin border, in profile is very high at the front; both sides of lappets are bordered.
Uraeus: very large, head higher than top of nemes, vestigial double loop, tail going back over crown of head.
Jewelry: broad collar indicated by lines.
Belt: no belt.
Body: soft modeling; kilt shows reverse fold.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–220; von Droste, *Liebieghaus*, pp.241–2 no. 118, ill., previous bibliography listed.

124. **Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus 1847**
Ht. 12.0 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-10**, plate 57 right
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows parallel to thighs (supported by connecting piece), hands open inwards.
Observations: This piece is entirely similar to the previous including inscribed area and reverse fold of kilt, though it is clearly not an exact duplicate. It was purchased in Cairo, but no reported source is stated.
Inscription: on back of footplate are not very clear signs, probably reading *wnmy.*
Bibliography: PM 800–895–221; von Droste, *Liebieghaus*, pp. 243–4 no. 119, ill., previous bibliography listed.

125. **Freudenstadt, Memminger Collection**
Ht. 8.7 cm.
Brief description: head of a king.
Observations: white crown with tabs, remains of gilding, features not visible in side view.
Bibliography: New York, Sotheby's December 9, 1981 (sale catalog), lot. 107; Pamminger, *Sammlung Gustav Memminger*, p. 32 no. 10, ill.

126. **Geneva, a private collection** [**?**]
Ht. 8 cm.
Text reference: 34, 47, 114
Brief description: kneeling (toes broken, leans backward a bit), arms bent at elbows, and running parallel to (attached to?) thighs, hands holding conical cups, not *nw* pots.
Observations: plastic brows and cosmetic lines; odd fully rimmed eyes (?) and small straight mouth in round face; broad collar; wears fairly full blue crown with rather prominent uraeus; elbows drawn in to body at waist; base has a second square opening, is inscribed for Bastet and a private offerer.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–950; Drouot, Paris, sale catalog March 21–2, 1986, no. 29, ill.; M. Müller, "Kniende König," pp. 122–3, ill.

127. **Geneva, a private collection**
Ht. 17.6 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-6**, plate 54
Brief description: kneeling king, arms downward and forward with parallel palms inward (damaged?).
Manufacture: arms separately cast and attached by tenons fitting into mortises let in from upper edge of shoulders; broad tang beneath knees.
Provenance/History: formerly in Pitt Rivers Museum at Farnham.
Face: round face; plastic brows and eye rims, and fairly narrow eyes with marked vertical axis in center; pupils marked (Chappaz); small mouth, fairly level.
Crown: white crown with no uraeus; small ear tabs, rounded.
Jewelry: fairly ornate broad collar, with clasp and ties in back.
Belt: level, slightly wider in back, vertical decoration at intervals.

Body: muscular arms; firm torso modeling, bipartition; kilt fold reversed, right over left; vertical furrow down the center of back.

Bibliography: PM 800–799–120; Pitt-Rivers Farnham catalog (Cambridge University Library Ms. catalog Add. 9455/2 p. 223 with drawing) notes it was purchased 1883 as Sotheby's London, sale of May 28, 1883, lot 46 (MMA library microfilm of catalog describes this lot as a bronze king, Ramesses II, kneeling, offering, with atef, and is annotated as sold to the Pitt Rivers); Christie's London, sale catalog December 12, 1990, no. 226, ill.; Chappaz, *Reflets*, no. 41 pp. 54 and 56, ill.

128. **Geneva, George Ortiz collection**

Ht. 26.5 cm

Text reference: 12, 15, plate 1

Brief description: kneeling, arms missing.

Material notes: black bronze (published analysis, Giumlia-Mair: 86.6% copper, 1.33% tin, 2.97% gold, plus small or trace amounts of other elements); traces of gilding beside ears; traces of silver sheet or leaf on kilt.

Manufacture: solid cast; four tangs; recessed rim at head for fitting crown; arms separately cast and attached by tenons fitting into mortise slots down from the upper edge of shoulders; round holes in thighs for fixing kilt?; round holes above nipples and in upper center of back probably for nemes headcloth.

Provenance/History: said to be from Hawara.

Face: broad at cheeks; taut skin; natural brow, rimmed eyes; fleshy nose; rather large prognathous mouth; fairly sharp chin; large ears that stand out.

Crown: probably nemes, see manufacture.

Body: heavy pectorals with their weight toward sides of body; navel in deep teardrop furrow; thighs together, knees separate; deep furrow down spine.

Bibliography: PM 800–480–750; Schoske, "Amenemhets III," p. 212 n. 20; Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary," p. 64 and nn. 34, 35, and 84; Ortiz, no. 37, ill. (full description); Forman, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 88, ill.; Giumlia-Mair, "Krokodil," ill.; Giumlia-Mair and Quirke, "Black Copper;" Giumlia-Mair, "not Niello," ill.; Page-Gasser, *Augenblicke*, pp. 71, 73–74, ill.; also see discussion of the Faiyum group in main text.

129. **Geneva, George Ortiz Collection**

Ht. 45.5 cm

Text reference: 15

Brief description: royal head and torso.

Observations: separate nemes; now missing arms were separately cast and attached by mortise and tenon system; other details in cited bibliography.

Material notes: inlaid eyes.

Manufacture: hollow cast.

Provenance/History: said to be the same as previous.

Bibliography: PM 800–491–800; Schoske, "Amenemhets III," p. 212 n. 20; Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary," p. 64 and nn. 34, 35, and 84; Ortiz, no. 36, ill. (full description); Forman, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 88, ill.

130. **Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire D 215**
Ht. 27.8 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-34**, plate 78
Brief description: striding; left arm down with hand clenched; right arm bent at elbow and raised at an angle before body to mid-chest height, hand open with palm downward.
Manufacture: according to MAH records, solid cast; small rectangular base apparently hollow and provided with tangs for fixation under each foot.
Provenance/History: gift 1825, formerly Fleuret collection, a Geneva merchant who may have acquired it from Drovetti.
Face: natural eyes and brows apparently (corrosion obscures much); small sweetish mouth, level.
Crown: high domed skullcap, no frontlet.
Uraeus: single, begins at edge of frontlet, a loop on either side of uraeus body, tail continuing in curves over crown of head.
Belt: fairly wide, no taper, dips slightly in front.
Body: generally simple modeling, rather thick torso, waist slightly accentuated; high buttocks; knees marked; kilt quite short.
Condition: very corroded.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–120; Henri Wild, *Les Musées de Genève* (1945), no. 7; Ch. Maystre, *Égypte antique, Guides illustrés* 9 (Genève, l969, 2nd. ed.), 20, ill.; Henri Wild, "Champollion à Genève," *BIFAO* 72 (1972) 35; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, pp. 32 n. 7, 33 n. 2, 69 IIC37 (not Kushite nor Saite, probably much later); Schlögl, *Don*, p. 82 no. 284, ill.

131. **Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 25978**
Ht. 10.8 cm.
Text reference: **K-34**
Brief description: striding, arms bent at elbows to be held at an angle to body but broken below elbows.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Provenance/History: Tabo, Argo Island, large temple, first room north of sanctuary (Meroitic).
Observations: skullcap, diadem(?), two(?) uraei, Kushite necklace.
Condition: very corroded.
Bibliography: C. Bonnet, *Kerma, royaume de Nubie* (Genève, 1990), p. 250 no. 400, ill.

132. **Gotha, Thüringen Herzogliches Museum ZV 325** (**as also the following; disappeared during WWII**)
Ht. unknown
Text reference: 116
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows and held up in front of body to almost breast height, open palms toward chest(?).
Observations: difficult to say for sure – may wear the khat headdress.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–240; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 355a, pl. 81d.

133. **Gotha, Thüringen Herzogliches Museum ZV 325** (**as also the previous; disappeared during WWII**)
Ht. 8.5 cm.
Text reference: 122
Brief description: striding, arms bent at elbows and held forward so that hands, open palms inward, are at thigh height.
Observations: on a thin and small bronze platform; nemes headdress, frontlet running above the ears.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–220; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 353a, pl. 81c.

134. **Menkheperre?**
The Hague, 1996
Ht. 3.83 cm.
Brief description: small striding bronze king; arms at sides with fisted hands.
Observations: white crown with curled beard which is attached to chest by a strut; integral rectangular base; belt said to be inscribed Menkheperre.

135. **The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum 71/110**
Ht. 13.5 cm. [**but Boddens Hosang says 20 cm.**]
Brief description: kneeling, left arm missing, right arm bent at elbow and held forward parallel to thigh, ending in an overlarge hand palm inward; would lean forward somewhat.
Manufacture: arms cast separately.
Face: squarish, small chin; brows and cosmetic lines plastic(?); eyes quite unusual, upper lid swollen, lower set back so that eye opening is tilted, but eyeball roundish in this socket.
Crown: nemes with frontlet, headcloth projects outward to overhang frontlet slightly.
Uraeus: cobra head tilts downward slightly; apparently no loop; tail runs back (in waves?) over the crown of the nemes.
Belt: fairly wide, if what can be seen in the uncorroded spot is the belt and not the upper edge of a strange unbelted kilt; apparently an alternating pattern of blank areas and groups of vertical lines; fairly level.
Body: elongated upper body; appears well modeled as far as can be seen; pectorals soft, abdomen appears modeled.
Condition: very badly corroded.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–250; Paris, Choiseul-Gouffier sales catalog 1818, no. 17**;** A. W. Byvanck, *Gids voor de bezoekers van het Museum Meermanno Westreenianum* I (The Hague 1912), p. 81 no. 71, pl. 11; F. J. E. Boddens Hosang, *Die Egyptische verzameling von Baron van Westreenen* (1989) pp. 48–9, ill.

136. **Hannover, Kestner Museum BB 51**
Ht. 7.7 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: striding king, arms downward and forward, hands palms inwards and attached by horizontal element.
Observations: cap crown.

Provenance/History: formerly von Bissing collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–251; Hornemann, *Types* I, pl. 296.

137. **Hannover, Kestner Museum 1935.200.737**
Ht. 7.8 cm.
Brief description: king's head on an aegis.
Observations: nemes; socket on the back as if to fit a pole.
Bibliography: "Ägyptische Führungsblätter des Kestner Museums – Kult und Tempelgerät," n.d., sheet no. 3, no. 9, ill.

138. **Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum 384**
Ht. 36 cm.
Text reference: 121
Brief description: bust.
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis no. 66, Rathgen-Forschungslabor, 1984: copper 86.28%, tin 9.85%, 3.53% lead, plus small or trace amounts of other elements; a second analysis, no. 64, gave slightly different percentages).
Manufacture: hollow cast.
Provenance/History: possibly Tell Hurbeit.
Face: very little modeling; plastic eyes and brows, brows straight and angling slightly downward over eyes, more strongly downward on temples where they taper to a squared end; inlaid eyes; pencil thin cosmetic lines; nose rather coarse; mouth straight and unsmiling, upper lip thicker than lower; long beard without striations starting under the chin, attached to body by a connective rod at bottom (only?).
Crown: blue crown, rather close to the head.
Uraeus: presumably separately made and attached; head missing, loop on either side of uraeus body, detailed markings on hood and tail, tail winding back over the dome of crown.
Bibliography: Roeder, *Bronzewerke*, para. 161–166 and figs., pls. 23–26; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren* para. 350a; Riederer, "Hildesheim," p. 7; frequently illustrated with various dates, Third Intermediate Period and Fourth Century favored – see, for example, Seipel, *Gott*, p. 412 no. 166, ill.

139. **Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Leihgabe Freundeskreis Ägyptisches Museum Wilhelm Pelizaeus Hildesheim e.V., F 4**
Ht. 13.8 cm.
Text reference: 88
Brief description: kneeling king, arms held forward and downward, parallel palms inward.
Material notes: eyes, brows, nemes stripes recessed for inlay.
Face: brows close to frontlet, longish narrow (?) face.
Crown: nemes.
Uraeus: fairly high.
Belt: narrow.
Body: heavy chest and shoulders; line beneath pectorals.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–765; Sotheby's, New York, sale catalog June 1, 1995,

no. 224, ill.; A. Eggebrecht, “Varia Aegyptiaca,” *Antike Welt* January 1995/5, p. 6, ill**.**

140. **Ismaliya, Museum 817**
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing below elbows.
Observations: nemes.

141. **Ismaliya, Museum 33**
Brief description: striding king, arms forward, hands missing.
Observations: nemes.

142. **Kassel, Staatliche Museen Br. 9**
Ht. 4.3 cm.
Text reference: 118
Brief description: winged kneeling king, hands hold an offering table attached to his lap.
Observations: nemes; no uraeus; small integral platform; indistinctly modeled.
Bibliography: Felgenhauer, pp. 154–5 (previous bibliography and related material listed).

143. **Kawa, no. 0136** (**Khartoum 2715?**)
Ht. 12 cm.
Text reference: **K-27**
Brief description: kneeling; arms bent at elbows, parallel palms inwards.
Provenance/History: Kawa Temple A.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord and amulet.
Bibliography: PM VII 183; Russmann, *Representation of the King,* p. 63 no. IIBl8 (previous bibliography listed).

144. **Kawa, no. 0645**
Ht. 12.5 cm.
Text reference: **K-28**
Brief description: kneeling, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T.
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King,* p. 63 no. IIB19 (previous bibliography listed).

145. **Kawa, no. 0647** (**Khartoum 2719?**)
Ht. 8 cm.
Text reference: **K-30**
Brief description: kneeling, arms broken at elbows.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T.
Crown: skullcap.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King,* p. 63 no. IIB20

(previous bibliography listed).

146. **Kawa, no. 0648** (**Khartoum 2715?**)
Ht. 7.8 cm.
Text reference: **K-29**
Brief description: kneeling, knees and feet together, arms bent at elbows, parallel palms inwards.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 63–4 no. IIB21 (previous bibliography listed).

147. **Kawa, no. 0878** (**Khartoum 2719?**)
Ht. 9 cm.
Text reference: **K-35**
Brief description: striding; left arm bent at elbow, right hand hanging at side.
Manufacture: on thin rectangular base.
Provenance/History: Kawa.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 64 no. IIB22 (previous bibliography listed).

148. **Kawa, no. 0972** (**Khartoum 2719?**)
Ht. 5.6 cm.
Text reference: **K-31**
Brief description: kneeling; arms broken off below shoulders.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 64 no. IIB23 (previous bibliography listed).

149. **Khartoum, 5459**
Ht. 14 cm.
Text reference: **K-36**
Brief description: striding figure, hands palms outward in gesture of adoration.
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Provenance/History: found 1948, Amentego, Dongola Province (Sudan).
Face: head very large in proportion to body.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double, crowned; left side uraeus retains white crown, right crushed, pre-

sumably red.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets; armlets; rings in ears.
Body: awkward proportions.
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 64–5 no. IIB24 (previous bibliography listed) (made later than 25th dynasty).

150. **Khartoum, 24705**
Ht. 45 cm.
Text reference: **K-26**
Brief description: striding Meroitic king, carried a bow.
Material notes: bronze (published analysis, Laboratoire Fédéral d'Essai des Matériaux and Laboratory of the Musée National, Brussels: about 87% copper, 6.6% tin, 5–6% lead); eyes inlaid with Egyptian blue, glass, unknown material; overall presence of stucco, gilding, and other color encrustation.
Manufacture: hollow cast on iron armature.
Provenance/History: Tabo, portico of the first court of the Great Temple.
Observations: very specific elements of costume, including all elements of traditional Kushite regalia, plus earrings, broad collar, armlets and bracelets, sporran, sandals.
Bibliography: Maystre, *Tabo* I (a full study committed to this statue with previous bibliography; dated from 235 to 170 B.C.); Wildung, *Sudan*, (1996) no. 270.

151. **Lausanne, private collection**
Ht. 6 cm.
Text reference: 122
Brief description: seated king in mummiform robe with raised neckline, hands emerge to hold scepters on chest.
Observations: blue crown.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–790; Page-Gasser, *Augenblicke*, pp. 124–5, ill. (Amenhotep III).

152. **Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AB33**
Ht. 17.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms held forward and downward, parallel palms inward.
Manufacture: apparently tang from underside of legs.
Face: very long narrow face.
Crown: very squarish nemes.
Uraeus: fairly small, placed well above frontlet, tail back over top of head.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–300; Boeser, *Beschreibung*, vol. 12, no. 2, pl. III/2.

153. **Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, L.VII.70**
Ht. 24 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-32**
Brief description: striding king, arms forward at chest height, palms inward; very similar to Paris, Louvre N506 (see there also, cat. 268).

Manufacture: on a small integral platform base with two tangs underneath.
Provenance/History: from the De L'Escluze Collection, previously Barthow Collection, formed in Egypt in the early 1800s in the footsteps of the great diplomatic collectors; note statuette of Nephthys, Leiden L.VII.69, h. 28 cm, from the same collection (see Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 285b, pl. 80f), which is extremely similar in face, profile and figure to the Isis in Paris thought to accompany Paris' comparable king.
Face: small beneath full blue crown; brows in continuous arc; small mouth with strongly curved smile.
Crown: blue crown with double seamed edge and no frontlet; single plain streamer in back separates at neckline, then returns to follow neck and ends mid shoulders.
Uraeus: narrow hood, a loop on each side, tail onto summit of crown.
Belt: plain, fairly wide, curves beneath belly in front.
Body: fleshy upper chest and shoulders, pipe-like junction of neck and straight shoulders, rather thick waist from front and from side.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–300; Boeser, *Beschreibung*, vol. 12, no 1, plate I/1; Hornemann, *Types*, 395; Schneider, *Life and Death*, no. 105, ill.

154. **Lidingö, Millesgården, Sweden**
Ht. 9.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, offering *nw* pots.
Observations: wearing *ḥmḥm* atop nemes.
Manufacture: arms supported by struts.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–301; Hornemann, *Types* iii, pl. 621.

155. **London, 1911**
Ht. 9.5 cm.
Text reference: 146
Brief description: kneeling king, arms raised from elbows, palms turned outward in worshiping position.
Observations: wears nemes without frontlet (?), uraeus with two small loops; integral platform base.
Provenance/History: said to be from Bubastis.
Bibliography: Hilton Price, *Catalogue* II, no. 4042, ill.; Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 12–14 and 17–21, 1911, no. 335.

156. **London, 1911**
Ht. 14 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms held forward and downward, palms inward.
Text reference: 146
Observations: nemes.
Provenance/History: said to be from Sais.
Bibliography: Hilton Price, *Catalogue* I, no. 3111a, ill.; Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 12–14 and 17–21, 1911, no. 336.

157. **London, 1911**
Ht. 4.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, holding *nw* pots.
Observations: wears nemes, integral platform base.
Material notes: *silver*.
Provenance/History: said to be from Deir el Bahri.
Bibliography: Hilton Price, *Catalogue* II, no. 4829, ill.; Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 12–14 and 17–21, 1911, no. 913.

158. **London, 1913**
Ht. 24.1 cm.
Brief description: striding, arms held forward, palms inward.
Observations: described as "prince" with shaved head; hard to evaluate further from photo.
Bibliography: Sotheby's London, sale catalog January 20, 1913 (Rustafajell Collection), no. 490, ill.

159. **London, 1923**
Ht. 15.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, forearms bent at elbows to hold *nw* pots at approximately waist height.
Observations: wears white crown, uraeus with loops and winding tail; round face, large eyes; eyes and brows once inlaid?; poor pouchy modeling; one large tang from beneath shins; called Amasis and said to be offering to Isis in dealer brochure.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–830; Spink and Son London, sale brochure n.d. [received in Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 11/14/23], p. 22, ill.; De Meulenaere, "Review of *Portraiture*," col. 124 add. refers to it.

160. **London, 1930**
Ht. 12 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward parallel palms inward.
Observations: blue crown with streamer visibly raised from back of neck as visible in angle of photo.
Bibliography: Sotheby's London, sale catalog May 20, 1930, no. 40, ill.

161. **London, 1937** [**closely similar if not the same as cat. 249** (**without tang height?**)]
Ht. 12.7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: appears to be of good quality.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–695; Christie's London, sale catalog March 2, 1937 [Nahman sale], no. 114, ill.

162. **London, 1974**
Ht. ? ca. 5–7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, hands on knees, adjacent to but not touching

bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box on censer shaft.
Observations: blue crown; slender body.
Bibliography: Christie's London, sale catalog May 1, 1974, no. 380, ill.

163. **London, 1976**
Ht. 11.1 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent forward from elbow, right palm turned inward, left arm broken above elbow.
Observations: nemes.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–740; Ede, *Collecting*, fig. 243a.

164. **London, 1976**
Ht. 16.5 cm.
Brief description: striding king, left arm bent at elbow and held forward with hand fisted, right arm fisted at side.
Observations: khat (?)
Bibliography: PM 800–893–600; Ede, *Collecting*, fig. 243b.

165. **London, 1977**
Ht. 15.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Observations: nemes with no frontlet, uraeus with head missing but hood marked with strong verticals; broad collar; integral base.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–700; Christie's London, sale catalog July 12, 1977, no. 35, ill.

166. **London, 1977**
Ht. ca. 5 cm.
Text reference: 115
Brief description: kneeling king on same platform with cartouche-shaped pellet box; hands held open palms parallel inward touching box.
Observations: nemes; bottom horizontal of cartouche is placed away from king.
Bibliography: Christie's London, sale catalog November 17–18, 1977, no. 540.

167. **London, 1978**
Ht. 13.3 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward parallel palms inward; knees higher than toes.
Observations: nemes of awkward form, very large cantilevered uraeus; large eyes, small mouth; broad collar; arms supported by struts; wide front tang visible.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–804; Sotheby's London, sale catalog December 8, 1975 no. 152, ill.; same, sale catalog July 3, 1978, no. 156, ill.

168. **"Psusennes," London, 1978** [**problematic; compare cat. 260 below**]
Ht. 30–5 cm.
Text reference: 3, 40

Brief description: king with one knee raised, one leg bent under his body, foot extended so that its upper surface touches the ground; holds offering table.
Observations: nemes; name Psusennes has been incised on corroded offering table; hollow cast.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–850; Christie's London, sale catalog November 21, 1978, p. 82, no. 392, frontispiece and pls. 75–7; same, Dec. 11, 1987, no. 120.

169. **London, 1979** [**problematic**]
Ht. 17.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: peculiarly formed nemes, no frontlet, odd uraeus; face very awkward, large features; elaborate broad collar; odd belt with horizontal stripes; tang below feet.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–701; Christie's London, sale catalog November 28, 1979, no. 230, ill.

170. **London, 1981**
Ht. 7.8 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, holds *nw* pots at just above waist height; knees higher than toes.
Observations: nemes (a fitting on top? or corrosion?) with large fat uraeus; arms supported by struts. Compare cat. 219 which is very similar and may be the same.
Bibliography: Christie's London, sale catalog February 23, 1981, no. 72, ill.

171. **London, 1981**
Ht. ca. 5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, his hands and knees joined on the bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box, directly mounted (apparently no platform) to a censer shaft.
Observations: squashed blue crown.
Bibliography: Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 13, 1981, no. 60; Christie's London, sale catalog November 17–18, 1977, no. 541, ill.

172. **London, 1981**
Ht. 10.1 cm.
Text reference: 45
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows, hands holding *nw* pots; knees are higher than toes.
Observations: white crown with uraeus and long tail running up; poor features; poorly modeled; knees with spade-like tang.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–800; *Collection de Feu Omar Pacha Sultan*, no. 28, ill.**;** Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 13, 1981, no. 159, ill.

173. **London, 1982**
Ht. 7.9 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows, palms facing outward.
Observations: white crown with frontlet and coiled (per catalog entry) uraeus; two vestigial tangs beneath knees; poor quality.
Bibliography: Christie's London, sale catalog May 6, 1982, no. 106, ill.

174. **London, 1983**
Ht. 14 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent slightly upward at elbows, hands holding pots near knees.
Observations: wears white crown with uraeus, broad collar; bad quality, head droops.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–805; Sotheby's London, sale catalog December 12, 1983, no. 186, ill.

175. **London, 1984** [**apparent pastiche**]
Ht. 19 cm.
Text reference: 3
Brief description: striding king, re hands see observations.
Observations: poor quality striding king that, judging from similarity of photos and size (no cross references are given in sale catalogs), seems to have appeared on the market with variable hand poses, possibly with and without feet. Unusual cut-out space between lappets and neck, slightly inward turned right foot make the identification of the many manifestations likely or suggests a set of modern close replications.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–735, 740 and PM 800–893–800.

176. **London, 1985**
Ht. 10 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: kneeling king, hands raised palms outward.
Observations: white crown with uraeus; beard; eyes recessed for inlay; Osiris standing before an altar in raised relief on the back of the figure (for figures on the back compare London Sotheby's, sale catalog July 1, 1924, no. 309, kneeling shaven headed figure with arms bent at elbows and now missing hands held at shoulder height, cartouches of Psamtik I on shoulders, figures of Isis and Osiris engraved on his back); hollow-cast (Ede).
Bibliography: Charles Ede, London, Egyptian Sculpture XII, dealer catalog January 17, 1985, no. 22, ill.

177. **London, 1985**
Ht. 16.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms raised from elbows to hold two *nw* pots almost at shoulder level.

Observations: white crown with streamer, very tiny – off-center? – uraeus (while this is often indicative of an effaced second uraeus and a Kushite origin, statue is not otherwise Kushite in style); pleasant face, elongated body; corroded.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–806; Sotheby's London, sale catalog December 9, 1985, no. 97, ill.**;** same, sale catalog December 12, 1983, no. 187, ill.

178. **London, 1993**
Ht. 6.4 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms raised from elbows, hands missing.
Observations: nemes; leans forward on a small integral base plate; poor quality.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–670; London, Bonham's December 7, 1993 sale catalog, lot. 293, ill.

179. **London, 1994**
Ht. 4.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Observations: cap crown with uraeus and frontlet; kilt without central element?
Bibliography: Charles Ede London, Egyptian Sculpture 21, dealer catalog Spring 1994, no. 16, ill.

180. **London, 1996**
Ht. 5.4 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king on platform base with cartouche-shaped censer box, the bottom horizontal of whose rim he touches with hands palm downward.
Observations: nemes.
Bibliography: Bonham's London, sale catalog July 4, 1996, no. 377, ill.; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog June 12, 1993, no. 32, ill.

181. **London, 1996**
Ht. 12.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes; broad collar; face nice enough, body poorly modeled; one tang under body.
Bibliography: Bonham's London, sale catalog July 4, 1996, no. 412, ill.

182. **London, 1996**
Ht. 15.3 cm.
Text reference: 39, 45
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes with prominent coiled uraeus; wide face, broad nose, prominent eyebrows; broad collar; two spade-like tangs for attachment noted by brochure.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–702; Bonham's London, sale catalog December 12, 1996, no. 182, ill.; Charles Ede, London, Egyptian Sculpture 22, dealer catalog 1995, no. 25, ill.

183. **London, 1998** [**integral?**]
Ht. 10.2 cm.
Text reference: 118
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent forward at elbows, hands parallel palms inward on either side of a tilting offering table.
Observations: wears a high chisel shaped blue crown; noted as "repaired across body and neck;" needs examination.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–671; Bonham's London, sale catalog September 22, 1998, lot 81, ill.

184. **London, 1998**
Ht. 9.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, hands holding *nw* pots.
Observations: red crown with uraeus and curled adjunct; arms attached to lap by struts; traces of gilding.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–703; Charles Ede London, Egyptian Sculpture 14, dealer catalog January, 1987, no. 24 (described as 9.2 cm, but apparently the same), ill.; Christie's London, sale catalog September 23, 1998, lot 115, ill.

185. **London, British Museum 2276**
Ht. 22.5 cm.
Brief description: striding king, left fist hanging at side, right raised to shoulder height.
Observations: nemes with odd high upper part and sharp corners, lappets fully rimmed; face has natural brow, large natural eyes, small smiling mouth; thickened abdomen, large round depression for navel; plain kilt; strong leg ridges, and ridges beside squarely modeled knee caps; feet ripped out of a base?
Bibliography: PM 800–799–300; Bierbrier, "Lethieullier family," p. 225; Seipel, *Gott*, pp. 367–8, ill.

186. **London, British Museum 22920**
Ht. 9–10 cm.
Text reference: 3, 114
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held out nearly straight, hands held with parallel palms inward. Part of a modern group with a bull (Drouot, below: "Groupe composé de deux sujets rapportés après coup"), the bull dedicated by Peftjawemawyhor whose name is on its pedestal.
Observations: nemes with narrow frontlet, smallish separate hair tabs; uraeus tail goes back over crown of head to back; king's mouth drawn up strongly at corners; prominent pectorals; very narrow belt.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–308; Drouot Paris, sale catalog March 31–April 1, 1890 (Sabatier Collection), no. 454; James, *Egyptian Sculpture*, figure 48, ill.; M. Müller, "Kniende König," p. 121 n.3.

187. **London, British Museum 23458**
Ht. 13.8 cm.
Text reference: 40
Brief description: kneeling, arms and toes missing; would have tilted forward slightly if toes were preserved.
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis, Scientific Research Department, British Museum, 1985: 76.2% copper, 2.6% tin, 17.9% lead, small or trace amounts of other elements).
Manufacture: solid cast; arms cast separately and mechanically attached by means of rectangular tenons projecting from body which would have fit into holes in arms.
Provenance/History: ex EEF 1887, with a group of material from Nabasha and Dafana; the date range of the former site seems more likely to have produced the statuette based on its likely pre-Saite date.
Face: handsome face; plastic brows and cosmetic lines; upper eye lid banded, eye open only rather narrowly, raised pupils; full-lipped mouth, almost straight.
Crown: nemes, fairly high on top; frontlet (or depression? – not readable in photo), not very wide.
Uraeus: begins at upper edge of frontlet, small loop on either side rather high behind uraeus hood, short tail running only up to where nemes levels off.
Belt: medium width, borders created by incised lines near either edge.
Body: high strongly marked hipbones, abdomen area separated from chest, round navel depression; long hip to knee distance.
Bibliography: Craddock, "Three Thousand," table 1.

188. **London, British Museum 32759**
Ht. 8.2 cm.
Text reference: 112
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbow and held forward palms inward; leans slightly forward.
Manufacture: apparently solid cast, somewhat irregular surface; tangs under feet and from underside of legs.
Face: triangular; plastic eye borders and brows; thick upper and lower lids on large rather crude eyes; straight, set mouth; horizontally striated beard and a beardstrap just at edge of chin.
Crown: nemes; fairly narrow frontlet which runs into ears.
Uraeus: starts at top of frontlet; vertical and horizontal markings on cobra hood; no loop; tail runs back over top of head to back.
Belt: very thin.
Body: not very modeled.

189. **London, British Museum 37642**
Ht. 14.2 cm.
Text reference: 118, plate 81
Brief description: kneeling, winged, arms bent at elbows and holding an offering table flat on lap.
Observations: nemes with narrow frontlet, very wide hair tabs separated from front-

let by an incised line; no uraeus; face with sketchy eyes and open mouth; heavy soft upper body; belt rather wide.
Provenance/History: purchased in Egypt.

190. **London, British Museum 63594**
Ht. 15 cm.
Text reference: **K-23**, plate 47
Brief description: striding, arms bent at elbows, left hand at mid chest height holds small seated Maat, right hand protectively behind.
Material notes: copper with small amounts of tin and lead (published analysis, Scientific Research Department, British Museum, 1985: 96.3% copper, 0.9% tin, 1.8% lead, small or trace amounts of other elements).
Manufacture: large hole in back and one under kilt.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T, reg. no. 0652.
Face: eyes were inlaid, something still left; level mouth.
Crown: not a red crown (as Russmann has since also observed); modius with a slot on the top and two small holes on front and each side.
Uraeus: none
Jewelry: cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 65 IIB26 (previous bibliography listed); Craddock, "Three Thousand," table 1.

191. **London, British Museum 63596**
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: **K-37**
Brief description: striding, hands held out at shoulder level, palms facing outward in gesture of adoration.
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis where it is mistakenly listed as a shawabti - Scientific Research Department, British Museum, 1985: 89.3% copper, 3.5% tin, 5.2% lead, plus small or trace amounts of other elements).
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T; reg. no. 0650.
Face: head too large.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 66 no. IIB28 (previous bibliography listed); Craddock, "Three Thousand," table 1.

192. **London, British Museum 63976** [**forgery, registered as such by the B.M.**]
Ht. unknown
Text reference: 3, 18
Observations: head of standard bearing Ramesses II in a short wig against a pyramidal-topped back pillar; inscribed.
Manufacture: hollow cast.
Bibliography: A. Shorter, *British Museum Quarterly* 11 (1936–7) p. 32, pl. 12a; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 353d; Catherine Chaudefaud, *Les Statues portes-enseinges*

de l'Egypte ancienne (Paris, 1982), p. 46 [under registry number 1936–4–25,1]; Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 29 n. 15.

193. **London, British Museum 64369**
Ht. 14 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-23**, plate 68
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held forward parallel to thighs, palms inwards.
Manufacture: BVB believed solid cast.
Face: rather sharp; natural brows and eyes; eyes fairly large; well defined thin mouth; long nose which has its a clearly marked root between the eyes; small pointed knobby chin, plump chin/neck area.
Crown: rather high narrow blue crown which has a definite rounded peak; circles marked; side tabs have curved edge; rim of crown has a raised rolled border; "frontlet" or lining appears beneath the rolled rim on the forehead; long streamer from the base of the back of the crown to the belt.
Uraeus: rather long uraeus hood; two tiny vestigial loops on either side; tail runs back along peak ridge of crown and nearly to the back.
Belt: medium width, somewhat narrower in front, but straight; upper border curves beneath abdomen.
Body: tripartition and bipartition; clavicles indicated; swelling breasts quite high with sharp nipples; nipped waist, rather jutting hip bones; long kilt.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–310; Myśliwiec, *Portraiture*, pp. 69, 78–9 (where he attributes it to Apries); Aldred, *Crépuscule*, p. 154, fig. 135.

194. **London, British Museum 64556**
Ht. 17.3 cm.
Text reference: 46
Brief description: standing sphinx.
Observations: triangular shaped face; square hole on top of head; uraeus tail preserved to just above forehead where a small bit only is preserved of uraeus body; plastic brows and cosmetic lines, nicely curved nose, small slightly smiling mouth; beard broken but belongs; very elongated body.
Bibliography: Alexandra Karetsou, *Krete Aigyptos* (Heraklion, 2000), p. 168, ill.

195. **London, British Museum 67189**
Ht. 6–7 cm.(**?**)
Text reference: 103, 115
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent and resting along thighs, both attached to upper edge of bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box on a censer shaft.
Observations: very crudely modeled; knees rest on edge of pellet cup; censer itself measures 50.5 cm, total height 9 cm; blue crown; dated 4^{th}–2^{nd} century.
Manufacture: bronze (British Museum Research Laboratory published analysis, king's body: 76.7% copper, 9.7% tin, 12.7% lead).
Provenance/History: North Saqqara, Sacred Animal Necropolis; reg. no. H5–2506[4747]; from sector 3, Falcon Gallery 16 cache 9.

Bibliography: Green, *Temple Furniture*, pp. 41–2, figs. 61–2.

196. **London, British Museum 68295**
H. 7 cm with tang, 5.5 without
Text reference: **LPPt-19**, plate 64
Brief description: kneeling king in nemes, hands palm downward against lap.
Manufacture: one long rectangular tang attached to underside of shins/body.
Provenance/History: "Saqqara, EES Sacred Animal Necropolis excavations Field No. G4–63 [5111], 1970/71 Cache 1 in Sector 6, E. of mastaba 3518, a little below the surface of an extensive "rubble" or "gravel" fill which lay over a group of mastabas 3527–3533 (see Martin, JEA 60 (1974) map opp. p. 15 for location). Emery thought, perhaps correctly, that this fill was the foundation for a Late Period building which was later completely demolished. This cache and certain others at the same level may have been dedicatory deposits at the time of construction of this building, but I can suggest no firm date for this." (Harry Smith letter, 1/15/98)
Face: oval-u-shaped, largish mouth and eyes
Crown: nemes, stripes run down to forehead, i.e. no frontlet.
Uraeus: tail back up at least to top of head.
Belt: thin, dipping under body.
Body: slim, marked ridge under breasts.
Condition: badly corroded.

197. **Los Angeles, private collection** [**?**]
Ht. 15 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent at elbows, palms parallel.
Observations: nemes; corselet?; rather wide belt; uraeus has fairly straight tail which ends before crown of head; odd surface.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–820; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog October 15–16,1947, no. 287, ill.; same, sale catalog December 14, 1978, no. 395, ill.

198. **Mantua, Giovanni Acerbi Collection 227**
Ht. 16 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Observations: nemes with wide wings and strong points on top; face round, but not very visible; broad shoulders and narrowed waist above rounded hips; arms were separately cast and attached; feet broken; poor casting.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–400; Donatelli, *Raccolta Acerbi*, pp. 37–39, ill.

199. **Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne 822**
Ht. 21 cm.
Text reference: 110
Brief description: kneeling king holding *nw* pots in lowered arms; knees and feet at different levels.
Provenance/History: collection Clot-Bey.
Observations: poorly formed white crown with large uraeus, and apparently streamers; heavy face, slanted eyes, poor features not well visible; thick body, reversed kilt

fold; feet on a thin horizontal platform and one large tang departs from underside of legs.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–350; Franke, *Müller Archive*, II/853–5; Nelson, *Catalogue Marseille*, p. 66 no. 290; Stanwick, *Portraits* A42

200. **Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne 823** [**no longer there**]
Ht. 13 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king with arms forward, long hands, parallel palms inward.
Provenance/History: collection Clot-Bey.
Observations: nemes with wide ear tabs, thick uraeus; heavy features, not well visible; broad collar, belt with vertical markings; sits on small platform base.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–351; Franke, *Müller Archive*, II/851–2.

201. **Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne 824**
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-35**, plate 79
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with parallel palms inward; toes and knees at different heights.
Provenance/History: collection Clot-Bey.
Face: relatively narrow eyes, broad nose, wide smile; large ears.
Crown: very flattened blue crown; streamer partitioned into two vertical segments forms a small projecting loop out from the neckline of the crown then descends down the back to just below shoulders.
Uraeus: narrow uraeus hood, a small loop on either side of uraeus body.
Body: sharp square shoulders, narrow chest above wider hip and abdomen area with teardrop navel.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–352; Franke, *Müller Archive*, II/847–850; Nelson, *Catalogue Marseille*, p. 66 no. 290.

202. **Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne 825**
Ht. unknown
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward parallel palms inward.
Provenance/History: collection Clot-Bey.
Observations: odd blue crown, odd face; strong clavicles.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–353; Nelson, *Catalogue Marseille*, p. 66 no. 290.

203. **Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne 826**
Ht. 16.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-27**, plate 72
Brief description: kneeling, both arms missing.
Manufacture: arms were cast separately and attached by tenons (lower parts of which remain) that apparently entered in slots cut down from upper edge of shoulder; tang for each knee and each foot.
Provenance/History: collection Clot-Bey.
Face: brows and eyes natural, eyes somewhat rounded in socket as inner canthi look

deep; strongly marked cheek ridges near nose and under eyes; lips fairly full, smiling slightly but then turn down again at corners.
Crown: nemes, composed of narrow incised stripes on headcloth and plastic ridges on lappets; wide almost rolled looking frontlet which runs above ears, incised wide hair tab separated from frontlet by incised line.
Uraeus: damaged, but very small snake hood over small double loop; thick tail going straight back over crown of the head.
Belt: medium width, dips slightly in front; diamond pattern.
Body: powerfully proportioned torso, low full pectorals and deep chest and rib cage; waist nipped in slightly, muscular abdomen.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–354; Nelson, *Catalogue Marseille*, p. 66 no. 290; Stanwick, *Portraits* A42.

204. **Memphis, Tennessee, private collection**
Ht. 9.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes; broad collar; head small in comparison with very broad shoulders and upper chest; pursed mouth.
Material notes: gold inlay (ancient?) in eyes

205. **Minneapolis, Institute of Arts 26**
Ht. about 7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling on censer handle, hands palm downward touching bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box.
Observations: nemes, poor modeling.
Bibliography: Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 595d, pl. 86e.

206. **Priest Smendes**
Morlanwelz, Belgium, Musée royal de Mariemont B242 (**E 52**)
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-5**, plate 10
Brief description: kneeling, arms missing.
Manufacture: tangs under knees, feet broken; hollow cast, irregular hole on underside; arms separately cast, attached by fitting a tenon into vertical slots down from top of shoulder.
Inscription: on chest *ḥm nṯr n ʾImn nsw nṯrw Ns-bꜣ-*[*nb*]*-ḏd mꜣʿ ḫrw*.
Face: small, wider at brow than chin, smiling mouth.
Crown: none, short wig with echelonned locks.
Belt: vertical striations separated by spaces within a top and bottom border; wider in back than front.
Body: wide shoulders, narrow body, very elongated from waist to knees.
Bibliography: *Antiquités Mariemont*, pp. 32–3, pl. 9; C. Derricks, *Musée royal de Mariemont I. Choix d'oeuvres: Egypte* (Brussels, 1990) with additional bibliography, ill. (either tp. Psusennes I or Osorkon I); M.-C. Bruweir in *Du Nil à l'Escaut*, p. 179, ill. (possibly simply a priest, Dynasty 21 or 22).

207. **Morlanwelz, Belgium, Musée royal de Mariemont B3** (**E 53**)
Ht. ll cm.
Text reference: 101
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and then parallel to thighs, palms turned inwards; leans forward slightly.
Observations: nemes, wings rather narrow; uraeus beginning above a frontlet; large eyes and brows naturally rendered (?); mouth very small and slightly pursed, heavy underchin in profile; bipartition, strong pectorals, belt just below navel; narrow belt.
Material notes: formerly gilded in areas; bronze roughened over nemes and kilt.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–330; *Antiquités Mariemont*, p. 33, pl. 9; De Wit, "Statuette," p. 208 n. 5, ill.

208. **Munich, n.d.** [**problematic**]
Ht. 12 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, right hand fisted on thigh holds folded cloth which hangs down, left fist upright on thigh holds a rectangular box/document case/mekes scepter (?).
Face: triangular; natural brows and large hooded eyes; tiny nose above tiny mouth on pointed chin; large ears perpendicular to head.
Crown: nemes, frontlet running to top of ear, tiny short hair tabs.
Uraeus: starts at bottom of frontlet; somewhat flattened loop on either side of uraeus body; uraeus has huge upraised head.
Belt: fairly straight; some dip back to front; patterned with crowded slanted lines(?), or scored for gilding(?).
Body: breasts somewhat pointed in profile; flaccid modeling and thick waist, rubbery arms.
Bibliography: Franke, *Müller Archive*, II/2826–9.

209. **Munich area** (**Southern Germany**)**, private collection**
Ht. 7.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and holding forward tiny oddly shaped *nw* pots; knees higher than toes.
Observations: poorly made; white crown; messy coiled (?) uraeus; eyes once inlaid (?), smiling mouth; no belt; arms held up by struts, hands apparently unarticulated, look like mittens.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–900; Wildung, *Entdeckungen*, no. 129, ill., where it is erroneously identified with Omar Pacha Sultan collection no. 28, which is actually cat. 172 above.

210. **Munich area, Resandro Collection**
Ht. 10 cm.
Text reference: 39
Brief description: king's head from a standard (?).
Observations: head above a kind of collar or transitional element; nemes with fairly wide frontlet; uraeus begins at upper edge of frontlet, but is coiled and then has tail going back over top of head; features quite asymmetrical; plastic eye rims and brows

with long cosmetic lines, raised pupils; wide full-lipped mouth; earring holes.
Material notes: remains of linen and of gilding; "pupils indicated by niello" (Schoske/Wildung); copper (Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Berlin, published analysis: 95.3% copper, 1.67% lead, 1.82% iron).
Manufacture: hollow cast.
Provenance/History: former Levi de Benzion Collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–799–720; Wildung, *Entdeckungen*, pp. 84(ill.)- 85 no. 66; Wildung, *Kunst*, p. 206 fig. 87; Schoske, *Gott*, p. 222, no. 143, appendix with compositional analysis by Josef Riederer pp. 247–9; Berlandini, "Tête," pp. 13–15.

211. **Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 5563**
Ht. ?
Brief description: kneeling, arms hardly bent, held at a downward angle forward over lap, palms inward almost together at fingertips.
Material notes: leaded bronze (published analysis, Rathgen-Forschungslabor, 1982: 85% copper, 3.3% tin, 11.8% lead, plus small or trace amounts of other elements).
Manufacture: poorly made, or much damaged in casting.
Face: low-browed; chin up, broad nose, thinnish lips set very firmly.
Crown: nemes, very low domed, no frontlet(?).
Uraeus: very flattened (damaged? modified?), thick coils back over the top(?).
Jewelry: broad collar, 2 strands only visible over or under traces of hammering.
Body: heavy breasty pectorals – even a sort of depression mid-chest; very broad shoulders, even bulging; very heavy in lower back/buttocks area; traces of much hammering on chest, neck, and arms (BVB).
Bibliography: PM 800–817–400; Riederer, "München," p. 14.

212. **Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 6043**
Ht. 13.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-8**, plate 56
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows, held forward parallel to thighs, palms inward.
Manufacture: tangs broken off?
Provenance/History: former Omar Sultan Pasha collection.
Face: plastic brows which begin above inner corner, run straight to mid-eye then turn downwards and end in a point on the temples; natural eyes, upper rim thickened somewhat, distinct inner canthus; fine nose which merges smoothly with forehead; small slightly smiling mouth, upper lip everted slightly and thicker than lower; fairly square chin; very marked, rounded, cheekbones which run all the way from nose area to sides of face.
Crown: blue crown, covered with raised disks, square tabs on the side, rolled rounded border front and back.
Uraeus: quite large head and hood, hood marked with vertical "ladder" decoration; a loop on either side of uraeus body with striations across body; wide, flat tail marked with vertical line running its length, and short diagonals to either side; runs to highest point of crown.
Jewelry: wide broad collar continuous all around - no end pieces; two strands of

tube beads and one of drops separated by bands.
Belt: narrow, dips slightly in front.
Body: soft pointed breasts, nipples not indicated; deep furrow running from between breasts to navel; slight vertical depression in back; reverse folded kilt.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–420; *Collection de Feu Omar Pacha Sultan*, no. 14, ill.; Müller and Wildung, *MJbK* 27 (1976) 231, 233; *Das Menschenbild im alten Ägypten*, p. 75 no. 28, ill.; Schoske and Wildung, *Ägyptische Kunst München* (n.d.), no. 75, ill.

213. **Munich, Staatlich Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 6982**
Ht. 56.5 cm
Text reference: 15
Observations: striding king, arms and headdress missing; details in publication.
Material notes: low tin bronze (published Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Berlin: 98.4% copper, 0.9% tin, with considerable variation through the statue, and small or trace amounts of other elements); inlaid eyes, traces of inlay in gold, electrum.
Manufacture: solid cast; arms separately cast and attached in vertical mortises at the top and side of the shoulder; original metal base preserved.
Provenance: said to be Hawara.
Bibliography: PM 800–471–500; Schoske, "Amenemhets III," ill.

214. **Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 369**
Ht. 6.7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, arms forward with right forearm bent slightly inward, left forearm and both hands missing.
Observations: wears beret-like blue crown; on small platform base.
Bibliography: PM 800–799–350; Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, *Collezione Egiziana*, p. 122, ill..

215. **Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 373**
Ht. 5.8 cm.
Text reference: 118
Brief description: winged kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: wears nemes with ovoid form on top; sits on a small step above a flat platform base; no uraeus.
Bibliography: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, *Collezione Egiziana*, p. 123, ill.

216. **Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 386**
Ht. 14 cm.
Text reference: 10
Brief description: kneeling king, hands forward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes with reduced frontlet, flat uraeus area; thighs and lower legs collapsed into a spade-like lower body; reversed kilt fold.
Bibliography: PM 800–799–351; Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, *Collezione Egiziana*, p. 122, ill.

217. **Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 413**
Ht. 5.6 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with palms downward on the bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet cup.
Observations: blue crown; spindly body; king sits on a small platform base.
Bibliography: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, *Collezione Egiziana*, p. 122.

218. **New York, 1947**
Ht. 5.6 cm.
Text reference: 100, 103
Brief description: kneeling king, left hand about to rest on knee, right arm slightly truncated.
Observations: reduced blue crown, low uraeus; well rounded and modeled body forms, kilt unlined. Apparently not the same as cat. 286.
Material notes: *silver*.
Bibliography: Sotheby's New York, sale catalog October 15, 1947, no. 75, ill.

219. **New York, 1958**
Ht. 8.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, hands holding *nw* pots, knees higher than feet.
Observations: wears nemes with thick uraeus; arms forward supported on struts. Compare cat. no. 170 which is very similar if not the same.
Bibliography: Sotheby's New York, sale catalog May 15, 1958, no. 24, ill.

220. **New York, 1971**
Ht. 10 cm.
Text reference: **K-41**
Brief description: striding figure holding vessel in front of body (no photo, based on Russmann).
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Face: prominent nose and cheeks.
Crown: skullcap, traces of gilding.
Uraeus: double, large.
Jewelry: incised, broad collar necklace.
Body: torso slightly elongated; plain belt, but kilt with triangular front panel, pleats marked; two cobras on sporran; traces of gilding.
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 66 IIB29.

221. **New York, 1976**
Ht. 8.6 cm without tenons
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, preserved right hand holding *nw* pot; knees higher than toes.
Observations: wears white crown with uraeus tail winding up near tip; armlet (?) or attachment evidence (?) below right shoulder; arms supported on struts.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–600; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog December 11,

1976, no. 274, ill.

222. **New York, 1976**
Ht. 6.7 cm.
Text reference: 129
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with palms downward.
Observations: wears blue crown; knees very pointed and ledge like.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–815; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog December 11, 1976, no. 275, ill.

223. **New York, 1980**
Ht. 15.9 cm.
Text reference: **K-15**
Brief description: kneeling king offering *nw* pots (no photo, based on archival notes).
Material notes: traces of gilding on pots and body; silver inlay in eyes?
Inscription: traces on back of belt? or corrosion?
Provenance/History: said to be found at Saqqara.
Face: unknown.
Crown: tall slender white crown.
Uraeus: double altered to single.
Jewelry: traces of effaced jewelry?

224. **New York, 1981**
H. 10.1 cm
Text reference: **K-16**, plate 43
Brief description: kneeling king with forearms bent up from elbows to hold *nw* pots before chest.
Observations: Kushite cap on which uraeus appears to have been altered or defaced.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–900; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog December 9, 1981, no. 116, ill.

225. **New York, 1985**
Ht. ca. 6 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king with hands palm downwards on the bottom horizontal of a cartouche-shaped pellet cup, both on a platform base.
Observations: flattened blue crown with uraeus whose long tail reaches back edge.
Bibliography: Royal Athena (New York) Galleries IV, dealer catalog 1985, no. 458; probably Sotheby's New York, sale catalog March 28, 1958, no. 15 (Tigrane Pasha d'Abro collection).

226. **New York, 1986**
Ht. 11.4 cm.
Text reference: 112
Brief description: kneeling king, arms held forward parallel palms inward; knees higher than toes.

Observations: nemes and long horizontally striated beard, thick (original?) uraeus.
Manufacture: one large rectangular tang departs from lower side of legs.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–770; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog May 15, 1958, no. 74; same, May 19, 1979, no. 37, ill.; same, November 24, 1986, no. 49, ill.

227. **New York, 1987**
Ht. 8.6 cm.
Brief description: standing or striding king (legs missing), hands palms downward on the triangular apron of his kilt.
Observations: wears the khat headdress, large flat uraeus (worn?); eyes and brows with cosmetic lines; belt with large rectangle in buckle area, horizontal striations; fragmentary "tenon" noted behind headdress (sale catalog).
Bibliography: PM 800–893–710; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog May 29, 1987, no. 38, ill.

228. **New York, 1991**
Ht. 7.4 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: striding king with hands forward palms inward and connected by a piece of horizontal metal.
Observations: wears cap crown with uraeus; small integral platform base.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–770; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog December 12, 1991, no. 301, ill.

229. **New York, 1993**
Ht. 11.1 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward; knees higher than toes.
Observations: wears nemes, broad collar.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–822; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog June 12, 1993, no. 29, ill.

230. **New York, 1994**
Ht. about 5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, hand's missing or vestigial, placed near bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box on double incense burner shaft.
Observations: wears blue crown.
Bibliography: Sotheby's New York, sale catalog June 8, 1994, no. 339, ill.

231. **New York, 1994** [**compare cat. 234; problematic**]
Ht. 43.2 cm.
Text reference: 3, 40
Brief description: king in nemes seated on throne; hollow-cast.
Bibliography: Christie's New York, sale catalog October 26, 1994, no. 71, ill. (described as a pastiche of some ancient elements enhanced with significant modern

restorations and repairs; Alice Tully collection; said to have been purchased by her in Paris in the 1920s).

232. **New York, 1995**
Ht. 14.3 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with parallel palms (one modern?) inwards.
Observations: white crown with no uraeus but two plain streamers in back with rounded ends, go over broad collar (?); roundish face with natural brows and large eyes, fairly wide unsmiling mouth; broad collar all the way around with two rows of beads and one of drops; level belt; very muscular, even sinewy modeling.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–802 and PM 800–895–810; Royal Athena (New York) Galleries 7/1, dealer's catalog January 1995, no. 175, ill.; Sotheby's London, sale catalog July 8, 1993, no. 165, ill.

233. **New York, 1998**
Ht. 14.6 cm.
Brief description: striding king, arms missing.
Material notes: remains of gold inlay in right eye.
Manufacture: arms were separately cast and attached by round tenons which remain at shoulders.
Inscription: unreadable cartouche incised on chest.
Face: roundish, obscured by corrosion and damage; mouth might have been nice one.
Crown: nemes.
Uraeus: single loop on either side of uraeus.
Body: slim, originally well-modeled; wears kilt with projecting triangular apron.
Condition: very corroded.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–925; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog June 4, 1998, lot 255, ill.

234. **New York, 1998** [**compare cat. 231; problematic**]
Ht. 45.5 cm.
Text reference: 3, 40
Observations: king in nemes seated on throne.
Manufacture: hollow cast.
Bibliography: PM 800–799–700; Franke, *Müller Archive*, II/877–881 (his comments indicate he thought this piece had moved to the United States, not realizing there were two, and secondly that he noted a disjunction between facial modeling suggestive of Dynasty 22 and base decoration suggestive of a later date); Kunsthalle Basel, *Schätze*, no. 135; this or cat. 231 is presumably the piece seen in the photographs of the Exposition Champollion by Bothmer, "Osorkon II," p. 9, n. 4, though it seems odd he did not connect it with the Kunsthalle Basel exhibition, one he had visited and reviewed; Schlögl, *Don*, p. 78 no. 274, figs. 274a-e (called Osorkon II?); Russmann, "Royal Statuette," p. 153 n. 27; Delvaux, "Bronzes de Sais," p.552 and n. 5 (end).

235. **New York, 1998**
Ht. about 5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent forward at elbows with hands resting palm downwards on bottom horizontal of cartouche shaped pellet-cup, no censer shaft.
Observations: nemes.
Bibliography: Christie's New York, sale catalog December 18, 1998, lot 40.

236. **New York, Collection of Abraham Guterman**
Ht. 11.3 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward palms inward.
Observations: nemes with no frontlet; uraeus; broad collar; lines in nemes and kilt are irregular, kilt has no center piece; pleasant face, wide eyes and large mouth; two tangs.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–850; Daninos Pacha, *Collection de Tigrane, pacha d'Abro*, no. 36, pl. 19; Ben-Tor, *Immortals*, p. 95, ill.

237. **New York, private collection**
Ht. 11.5 cm
Text reference: **TIP-10**, plate 19
Brief description: kneeling, left arm missing, right arm bent at elbow and held forward, palm of very long hand inward.
Material notes: leaded bronze with notable amount of arsenic (unpublished analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 1997); remains of gold leaf on belt and skirt; red coloration on surface of gold not analyzed.
Manufacture: hollow cast; two independent casting cores; crown (missing) separately cast and attached mechanically; arms separately cast and attached on a square-section tenon that appears on surface of outer edge of shoulder; feet and rear tang are integral, front tang was cast on subsequently; copper core supports preserved.
Inscription: on chest, in a cartouche that hangs from a cord around the neck that does not continue in back, (*Wsrk*[*n*] *mry-Ỉmn*), with the *sꜣ* sign for *s* poorly shaped.
Face: small face; eyes cut back around eyeballs, heavy cosmetic lines with some difference between the two sides; nose poorly differentiated from face; very small mouth; extremely short squarish chin; oddly two short horizontal lines in back of head beneath neckline.
Crown: now missing.
Jewelry: neck cord holding cartouche.
Belt: wide and thick, tapering to somewhat narrower in front.
Body: very long torso, wide shoulders, high hipbones, flat central chest, very round navel; one hand repaired at wrist, fine square to rectangular nails and first knuckle below marked.
Bibliography: PM 800–767; The Merrin Gallery, New York, dealer catalog 1989, no. 13 ill.

238. **New York, Collection of Jan Mitchell and Sons**
Ht. 10.8 cm
Text reference: **TIP-4**, plate 9
Brief description: presumably striding, missing below knees, proper left arm broken below shoulder, proper right arm missing.
Material notes: black bronze (unpublished qualitative analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 2001); eyebrows and rims gold inlay, also possibly a gold ring around black stone pupil, whites silver.
Manufacture: apparently solid cast; in place of proper right arm only a large roughly round broken dowel, perhaps used for a repair as other arm appears to be cast with body; other casting problems evident.
Inscription: none readable, though buckle rectangle is roughened and a ring of depressions *could* represent legs of a *ḫpr*.
Face: casting flaw causes swollen proper left side of face; wide level mouth, jutting lips, slightly hooked nose with wide alae; small ledge-like chin; poor ears; two lines beneath throat.
Crown: khat; inlay on the back tail of headdress in form of a djed?; frontlet obscured, hair tab area not separated from frontlet by incised line.
Uraeus: begins above the edge of the khat, loop on either side of uraeus body, tail goes along top of headdress, but too corroded to see well.
Belt: dips in front; tapers back to front; alternating horizontal and vertical stripes.
Body: slightly hunched in side view; bipartition; nipples indicated by incised circles; stomach slightly soft; rear is very small and flat; kilt very long with fine incising, almost frilling at edge.

239. **New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.2.2**
Ht. ca. 8 cm
Text reference: 97, 115
Brief description: kneeling king on a censer, hands (restored) palms downward on bottom horizontal of cartouche-shaped pellet box.
Provenance/History: ex MacGregor Collection.
Crown: blue crown with disks; ledge-like projection at rear edge, then two incised lines down back of figure past the belt-line, rather difficult to understand but must be vestigial streamer.
Condition: very corroded.
Bibliography: Sotheby's London, sale catalog June 26 and ff. days, 1922 (MacGregor Collection), lot 1176, ill.; Gimbel Brothers New York, sale catalog 1941 (Hearst Collection), p. 297.

240. **New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.99.134**
Ht. 6.5cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-26**, plate 71
Brief description: bronze head of a king.
Material notes: black bronze (MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 2002: 88.3% copper, 4.4% tin, 1.4% arsenic, 3.4% silver, 1.9% gold, traces of iron).

Manufacture: single core, iron armature.
Face: face round; eyes rather straight across bottom; brows barely plastic, high continuous arc across forehead; some modeling and cheek bones indicated below eyes; upper lip is higher in center with straight borders down to corners, lower lip rounded, slight smile.
Crown: high crown (white, red?) with rolled edge all around, lining appearing under front edge; side tabs rectangular.
Uraeus: abraded, began just above lower edge of crown, tiny high loop on either side of uraeus body; tail extending upward.
Bibliography: PM 800–892–500; Cooney, "Gallatin," p. 17 no. 91, ill.; Stanwick, *Portraits* A26.

241. **New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.227**
Ht. 10.4 cm.
Text reference: 118
Brief description: striding king, right arm raised from elbow with missing hand, left arm with fisted hand at side.
Material notes: leaded bronze (qualitative analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 2001).
Manufacture: small integral platform base.
Provenance/History: said to be from Byblos.
Face: natural brows, flat mouth, small rectangular horizontally striated beard.
Crown: nemes, unusual shape and square lappets.
Uraeus: none.
Belt: wide, strongly dipping in front.
Body: overlarge upper body, torso twisted, kilt meets oddly in front.

242. **New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.136** [**Not Ancient**]
Ht. 17 cm.
Text reference: 3, Appendix 3, plate 82
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held forward with palms inward; entire upper body including head leans forward from hips though position of knees and toes is fixed on one level.
Manufacture: permanently attached to a hollow bronze base. See Appendix 3.
Provenance/History: already in the Walter Baker Collection in 1947, before that in the collection of I. N. Phelps Stokes.
Face: fairly wide; narrow plastic brows which do not dip at nose; upper edge of lid rolled slightly and extends beyond lower, strongly marked inner canthi, eyeballs somewhat rounded in socket; small mouth, slightly up at corners; slightly dreamy expression.
Crown: nemes, wide frontlet running over ears, small tabs separated from frontlet; alternating wide and narrow stripes except on narrow lappets which have close ridges.
Uraeus: very large, big head, stands away from headdress; hood marked with center ladder decoration and side diagonal marks; loop on either side of uraeus body; tail broad and extends only to crown of head.
Belt: narrow.

Body: nipples perhaps intentionally marked by small holes, very little modeling; hip bones unmarked, and from the rear the waist/hip/upper leg transition is very smooth and boneless.
Publication: PM 800–895–440; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, no. 82, ill.; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975*, p. 74, ill. (as Dynasty 30).
Art historical observations relevant to authenticity: The tilted head and gaze are atypical for ancient statuary, including bronzes. The downward lean and reach of the entire upper body of the statuette as described above fits neither the pattern of TIP-11/cat. 13 and cat. 57, nor that seen in examples such as LPPt-36/cat. 103 which may have been mounted with knees higher than toes. The individual features, the facial composite they create, the body shape and modeling suggest no marked affinities to the style of one or more than one ancient period – unusually for a statuette of this size and apparent precision. The proportions of the base in relation to the statuette and the form of the base (a complete shallow bronze box) are quite unusual.

243. **New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2002.8**
Ht. 7.2 cm.
Text reference: **K-6**, plate 35
Brief description: kneeling, arms missing from above elbows, toes broken away.
Material notes: gilding on cap and kilt; bronze (unpublished analysis, MMA Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, 2002: 93.8% copper, 4.6% tin, traces arsenic, lead, iron).
Manufacture: one square section tang on underside between knees is broken away.
Provenance/History: collection of Peter Sharrer; collection of Christos Bastis in 1973–1999.
Inscription: seemingly erased, in front center of belt; traces of a vertical sign (fitting best *nfr*, but *wsr* is possible, and perhaps even *ḏd*) about one third of the way from the left, and of what looks like a goddess (god?) sign at the far right could suit the prenomen of Pi(ankh)y or Taharqo, but in other bronzes where the name can be read the Kushite nomen is used (James Allen, 2002).
Face: Kushite, narrow eyes, prominent lower face, small curved protruding mouth.
Crown: Kushite skullcap with disks; diadem with uraei band, long streamers of bandeau visible; falcon on back of head.
Uraeus: double, converted to one.
Jewelry: Kushite cord and amulets, defaced.
Belt: alternating horizontal and vertical groups of lines, bordered.
Body: broad shoulders, vigorous modeling.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–600; Bothmer, *Bastis*, pp. 39–41 (previous bibliography listed), figs. 12a-e; Sotheby's New York, sale catalog December 9, 1999 (Bastis sale), pp. 16–17, ill.

244. **Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1879.307**
Ht. 12.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inwards.
Observations: wears nemes with hole for uraeus insert and another for tail; heavy,

"realistic" face, eyes with cosmetic lines, thick mouth; tripartite torso modeling, bipartition also, resulting in a muscular but rather pockety appearance; very long hip to knee distance.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–460; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 356b; De Wit, "Statuette," fig. 5.

245. **Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1932.828**
Ht. 9 cm.
Text reference: **K-32**
Brief description: striding, held two *nw* pots, now broken.
Manufacture: flat base with a long tang underneath.
Provenance/History: Kawa, Temple T; reg. no. 0649.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double.
Jewelry: neck cord with one amulet; may have traces of armlets and bracelets.
Bibliography: PM VII, 189; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 66 no. IIB30 (previous bibliography listed).

246. **Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1962.617**
Ht. 11.7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms outstretched, left hand facing inwards, right hand missing.
Observations: wears nemes without frontlet, uraeus; hatchet-faced, torso shows lumpy modeling; two close horizontal lines encircle right (maybe also left) upper arm, for bracelet or attachment/repair(?).

247. **Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.434**
Ht. 11.1 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, hands missing.
Observations: nemes; very spongy surface.

248. **Paris, 1883**
Ht. 27 cm. including large base
Brief description: recumbent sphinx on top of large pedestal with a lion head and loop on front of base - a locking mechanism?
Observations: nemes; very harsh prominent features; head tilts back unusually far; human arms raised from elbows with palms inwards (palms slightly overhang edge of integral pedestal; arrangement difficult to understand if original).
Bibliography: Hôtel Drouot, Paris, sale catalog May 22, 1883 (Posno Collection), no. 52, pl. 1 (according to note in Wilbour library copy: Borelli Bey sale catalog no. 146, pl. 7).

249. **Paris, 1899**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-17**, plate 62
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held parallel to thighs, palms

inward (compare cat. 161).
Provenance/History: Hoffmann Collection.
Face: long face, rather straight across brow, large eyes, ears high.
Crown: nemes, alternating broad and narrow stripes except on lappets; very narrow frontlet; wide side flaps.
Uraeus: large uraeus, no (or very vestigial?) side loops, tail over the top somewhat wavy.
Belt: narrow belt curving under belly.
Body: finely modeled tripartition in well-formed torso, waist subtly nipped in.
Bibliography: Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog May 15, 1899, no. 38 pl. 3; Legrain, *Collection Hoffmann,* p. 149 no. 468, pl. 37.

250. **Paris, 1911**
H. 5.6 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, left hand broken and right seems to face downward.
Observations: nemes; seems to be poor casting or distorted.
Provenance/History: Dr. Eddé Collection, Alexandria.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–720; Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog May 31–June 2, 1911, no. 442, ill.

251. **Paris, 1913**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: very angular nemes with no frontlet and large flattish uraeus over narrow face; broad collar; thick torso.
Provenance/History: Borelli Bey Collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–680; Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog June 12–13, 1913, no. 118, pl. 8.

252. **Paris, 1913**
Ht. 20 cm.
Brief description: standing king, arms forward with parallel palms inward, slightly curved and almost touching each other.
Observations: very angular nemes with no frontlet and large flattish uraeus over narrow face; broad collar; thick below waist.
Provenance/History: Borelli Bey Collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–820; Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog June 12–13, 1913, no. 119, pl. 8.

253. **Paris, 1922**
Ht. 11 cm.
Text reference: 101
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, hands broken off.
Observations: blue crown with uraeus having small loop on either side, and broad collar; face has delicate small features, very pretty; broad shoulders, high breast, basically unmodeled chest area, fairly broad waist above dipping belt; integral platform

base.
Provenance/History: Fouquet Collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–750; Galerie Georges Petit Paris, sale catalog June 12–14, 1922, no. 74, ill.

254. **Paris, 1971**
Ht. 14 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes with strong peaks; uraeus; possibly broad collar; large bulging eyes, wide nose with furrows down from corners, bulging upper lip; dipping belt, kilt edges meet in center, no apparent overlap.
Bibliography: Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog June 17, 1971, no. 77, ill.

255. **Paris, 1971**
Ht. 14 cm.
Text reference: **K-18**, plate 44
Brief description: striding, right arm at side, hand clenched, left arm bent forward, broken off below elbow; feet broken off?
Material notes: traces of gilding.
Face: round.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: single, small and oddly situated; probably altered.
Jewelry: traces of neck cord with three amulets?
Bibliography: PM 800–817–800; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 67 no. IIB32 (previous bibliography listed).

256. **Paris, 1972**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king with some odd features, arms missing from just below shoulders where peculiar flattened join (?) surfaces are visible; arms would have been held high.
Observations: nemes with uraeus; face not well visible in image; thick body with strong abdominal area; leans forward somewhat, knees separated; effaced cartouche on chest.
Bibliography: Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog May 29–30, 1972, no. 254, ill.

257. **Paris, 1974**
Ht. 16.5 cm.
Text reference: 110
Brief description: kneeling king not well visible, arms forward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes; uraeus; broad collar; reversed kilt fold; rests on 2 superposed bases of 4 cm high total.
Bibliography: Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog June 28, 1974, no. 4, ill.

258. **Paris, 1976** [**problematic**]
Ht. 23.2 cm
Brief description: striding, left arm at side fist clenched, right arm bent up at elbow hand (missing) in front of and against chest.
Observations: stylistically poor and quite unfamiliar; on a base plate, tangs under base plate; nemes with narrow frontlet which runs down to lobe of ears, as if taking place of side tabs; uraeus beginning at bottom of frontlet, tail running up over head, no loops; natural brows, giant bug-like eyes with plastic lids; small mouth with upturned corners; body formlessly modeled, widish belt with navel set immediately above it.

259. **Paris, 1989**
Ht. 7 cm.
Text reference: 101
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes; uraeus; broad collar; round face, wide eyes; heavy belly; long tang from beneath shins and another broken off near knees.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–710; Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog February 14, 1989, no. 109, ill.

260. **"Ramesses II," Paris, 1980s** [**problematic; compare cat. 168 above**]
Text reference: 3, 18
Brief description: king with one knee raised, the other leg folded under body with foot extended so that the upper surface of the foot touches the ground.
Observations: nemes; belt engraved with name Ramesses II; arms bent upward at elbows; hands hold two document cases/enigmatic objects.
Bibliography: Ziegler, "Jalons," p. 29 (as not right).

261. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 45**
Ht. 14 cm. [piece could not be located 7/2001]
Text reference: **K-40**
Brief description: striding, holding vessel in the act of pouring; right leg broken off below mid-calf.
Manufacture: tang under left foot.
Face: practically gone.
Crown: skullcap.
Uraeus: double, crowned, very prominent.
Jewelry: neck cord with three amulets.
Body: median line, small navel.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–500; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, pp. 67–8 no. IIB31; presumably the piece mentioned by Vandier, "Hémen," p. 77 n. 2 as possibly Taharqo and to be published by Yoyotte; Aubert, *Bronzes*, pl. 13 left.

262. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 46**
Ht. 10.7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, left arm missing below shoulder, right arm bent at elbow

held forward parallel to thigh, palm inward, attached by strut to knee.
Manufacture: probably solid cast; rather thick tang between rear feet which are connected to each other and area of tang.
Face: poorly modeled; barely plastic(?) brows level at center, slope downward from there; narrow eyes; slight smile; possibly lines or ridges on neck (corrosion makes it difficult to be sure).
Crown: blue crown, no frontlet, squared side tabs; no streamer.
Uraeus: huge uraeus, loop on either side of uraeus body, tail weaves back over top of blue crown.
Body: tripartition; breasts separated and soft, clear depression between them; nipped waist; on back, spine marked by a depression, bone at top put into relief because depression seems to separate and run up to/over shoulders.

263. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 48** (**tag says Caylus**)
Ht. 10.6 cm.
Text reference: 39
Brief description: kneeling, left arm missing from elbow, right from below shoulder.
Manufacture: remains of support struts on either thigh; apparently had a single tang between calves (cannot remove base to verify); some cracking and pitting in the metal.
Face: apparently (corroded and difficult to see details) eye rims and brows raised along with irises; small straight mouth.
Crown: white crown with small rounded tabs at sides, two plain streamers with a single dividing line in back.
Uraeus: largish with very small loop on either side of uraeus body, tail extending almost to constriction in crown.
Jewelry: possible trace of earring hole in p. r. ear where there is a differentiated dot of corrosion.
Belt: wide, zigzag pattern.
Body: upright, has high hips, independent abdominal area.

264. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 50**
Ht. 6.5 cm altogether, king with his small base alone is 6 cm.
Text reference: 115
Brief description: kneeling king on a small platform base next to cartouche cup on a fragmentary censer shaft.
Observations: bottom horizontal of cartouche cup away from king; king poorly made, indistinct features; wears a nemes; large uraeus with no loops that goes to back of head; necklace.

265. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 56**
Ht. 7 cm. as preserved
Text reference: 118
Brief description: king's upper part with wings, holding offering table.
Observations: preserved portion seems to be just an attachment with no lower portion as if the figure sat on a leaf or flower; the king's whole back side even into

the head is hollowed; wings are attached to each other by a triangular piece of metal; no uraeus.

266. **Paris, Louvre AF 436**
Ht. 7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward with hands missing.
Observations: nemes with uraeus; toes broken off so that figure leans backward slightly.

267. **Paris, Louvre AF 735**
Ht. 13.1 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, lower right arm and left hand missing
Observations: nemes and uraeus; large chin, smile; attached to some sort of shallow base.

268. **Paris, Louvre N506**
Ht. 24.1 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-33**, plate 77
Brief description: striding king, arms forward at chest height, palms inward; *very* similar to Leiden L.VII.70 (see there also, cat. 153).
Material notes: traces of gilding; state of corrosion very similar to Isis, Louvre N3988.
Manufacture: stands on small integral base.
Provenance/History: Collection Salt, acquired 1826; noted there by Champollion as apparently connected with the Isis N3988.
Face: quadrangular face, natural brow forms a single arch, narrow eyes, straight nose, small slightly smiling mouth.
Crown: blue crown with double edged border over forehead and a smooth single streamer in back that separates from the lower edge of the blue crown, returns to the neck, and runs down to just above the shoulder blades.
Uraeus: uraeus with single loop on either side.
Body: rather tubular neck and sloping shoulders, thick torso side to side and front to back

269. **Paris, Louvre N509=E2518** [**integral?**]
Ht. of king 11.5 cm
Text reference: 3, 114
Brief description: kneeling king, hands forward parallel palms inward kneeling on a high base with cavetto (?) behind a small baboon placed on the lower common base (seems unlikely at the least that the arrangement is ancient; usually a baboon or a god placed on such a base, cf. Louvre E11153 and E11154, Andreu, *Louvre*, p. 122 and bibliography cited).
Observations: nemes unusually has a frontlet consisting of double rolled edge; high peaks on nemes; very narrow uraeus with two small loops on either side; face expressionless; strongly marked pectoral ridge, thick body with very round large

navel depression; one thick tang from underside of legs.
Provenance/History: Clot Bey Collection, acquired 1852.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–500.

270. **Paris, Louvre N5044**
Ht. 7.8 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: striding king, hands forward with palms inward to grasp a circular shaped item.
Observations: cap crown with uraeus; very slim figure; on integral base.
Provenance/History: Serapeum?
Bibliography: probably PM 800–893–451 and Hornemann, *Types* I, pl. 298.

271. **Paris, Louvre N5129**
Ht. 7.7 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: kneeling king, arms downward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes; rests on a broad platform base pierced with two holes.

272. **Paris, Louvre AF590=E3449**
Ht. 13.2 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward palms inward (right missing).
Observations: nemes; narrow frontlet, uraeus; large brows and eyes, rather squashed nose, smiling mouth; extremely pouchy and sinewy modeling.
Provenance/History: acquired 1859.

273. **Paris, Louvre E3649**
Ht. 7.3 cm.
Text reference: 115
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, palms downward touching the sides of a cartouche box, all attached to a censer shaft.
Observations: blue crown; slim smooth body; bottom horizontal of cartouche box placed away from king.
Provenance/History: acquired in 1860.
Bibliography: Hornemann, III, 582.

274. **Paris, Louvre E3793**
Ht. 7 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, forearms bent up almost vertically, knees higher than toes.
Observations: nemes; face not visible; elbows supported on thick rectangular struts; one tang visible near knees.
Provenance/History: gift of Tyszkiewicz in 1862.

275. **Paris, Louvre E3926**
Ht. 14 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, hands forward with parallel palms inward.
Observations: nemes, with rounded dome and pointed corners; thick frontlet like a metal band with odd square hair tabs; small uraeus with tiny loop on either side above square face with large puffy eyes and small mouth; body shows pectorals with w-shaped lower profile, very narrow waist; lower kilt edge slants up very strongly on the top surface of knees; one large rectangular tang visible under knees.
Provenance/History: purchased 1864, Delaporte Collection.

276. **Paris, Louvre E3928**
Ht. 9.6 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: striding king, arms forward, palms inward holding a circular pierced object.
Observations: cap crown with high uraeus; slim body; integral platform base.
Provenance/History: purchased 1864, Delaporte Collection.

277. **Paris, Louvre E3929**
Ht. 6.7 cm.
Text reference: 130
Brief description: striding king, arms forward with palms inward holding a metal ring.
Observations: cap crown with uraeus; integral platform base**;** fairly good work.
Provenance/History: purchased 1864, Delaporte Collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–450; Hornemann, *Types*, pl. 297.

278. **Paris, Louvre E3930**
Ht. 5.8 cm.
Text reference: 123
Brief description: king in running kneel, holding a censer (?) and another unidentified object (cloth per Aubert).
Observations: king wears red crown with curled metal adjunct; summary modeling; arms supported by struts; integral metal platform.
Provenance/History: purchased 1864, Delaporte Collection.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–505; presumably Aubert, *Bronzes*, p.340 sketch.

279. **Paris, Louvre E10785**
Ht. 4.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, presenting a *nw* vase and a mounded shape.
Observations: nemes, with uraeus; face otherwise unclear.
Provenance/History: purchased 1899, Collection Sivadjian.

280. **Paris, Louvre E10785 also**
Ht. 5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward palms downward on lower edge

fragment of what was a cartouche-shaped pellet box.
Observations: nemes with unusually pointed lappets; heavy low breast.
Provenance/History: purchased 1899, Collection Sivadjian.

281. **Paris, Louvre 19190**
Ht. unknown
Brief description: kneeling king presenting cartouche shaped pellet box [no image].
Observations: nemes.
Provenance/History: from Musée Guimet.

282. **Paris, Louvre 22175**
Ht. 6 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king arms forward, right palm inward, left missing; probably from a censer.
Observations: nemes of rather flattened shape; hand is supported by a thick strut running to small platform base which extends in front of king's knees.
Provenance/History: from Musée Guimet, 4676.

283. **Paris, Louvre 22875**
Ht. 7.8 cm.
Text reference: 63
Brief description: kneeling king, arms against thighs, hands holding *nw* pots.
Observations: wears a cap crown covered with circles and with uraeus; dome of head is somewhat swollen and high; may wear a broad collar, difficult to see; sits on a thin platform base.
Provenance / History: Curtis Collection, 376.

284. **Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E14295**
Ht. 20.6 cm.
Text reference: **NK-4**, plate 5
Brief description: kneeling, arms missing.
Material notes: black bronze (published analysis, MASCA, Fleming below: 88.7% copper, 4.6% tin, 4.7% gold, plus small or trace amounts of other elements); surface layer modern organic; many traces of gilding, nemes must have been gilded all over; gilding inside proper right knee; copper or bronze sheet placed in eyes before inlay; brows were inlaid with gold then stone.
Manufacture: hollow cast, two cores present; separately cast arms were attached on straight peg tenon with squarish section projecting from body; had long, thin tangs, back ones slightly wider; six so-called mortise marks on surface probably relate to means used to support the core.
Provenance/History: purchased Tano, Cairo, l924.
Face: sweeping brows; full Amarna-esque or late 18th dynasty mouth; rather heavy lines down from corners of mouth; earring holes.
Crown: nemes.
Uraeus: double asymmetrical bend, tail does not go far back.

Belt: very wide at the back and narrow at front; pattern of vertical and horizontal groups of lines.
Body: narrow waist, heavy hips and upper thighs, protruding belly; round belly button in paunch; wears the Amarna type sash-kilt, here strongly ridged in back, with horizontally and vertically striped apron with uraeus frieze at bottom and double horizontally-striped streamers on either side; leans back slightly because of broken toes.
Bibliography: PM 800–745–600; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 355h, pl. 81h; Aldred, “Amun,” p. 6, pl. II/6; Fishman and Fleming, “Tutankhamun,” pp. 8l-86, ills.; Hill, “Kneeling king,” ill. (with further bibliography) (end of Amarna-Tutankhamun).

285. **Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Natural History 1948.3**
Ht. about 5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, hands held forward palms downward on the bottom horizontal of a cartouche-shaped pellet box, all on a censer shaft.
Observations: nemes.
Provenance/History: Qasr el-Banât, Faiyum.
Bibliography: Patch, *Reflections,* pp. 98–9.

286. **St. Louis, Museum of Art 220.54**
Ht. 6.8 cm.
Text reference: 100, 103
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward, left hand poorly repaired as palm downward over lap, right missing. Apparently not the same as cat. 218 though very similar even to hand problems.
Material notes: *silver.*
Manufacture: small integral platform base.
Provenance/History: from Tyszkiewicz Collection.
Face: exuberant features, long eyes, wide nose, wide smiling mouth, rounded chin.
Crown: small blue crown of reduced form.
Uraeus: uraeus with head broken off, loop on either side of uraeus body, no tail.
Body: fleshy torso, fairly formless; kilt with incised lines.
Bibliography: Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, “The Art of Ancient Egypt,” (exhibition, 1895) no. 55; Hôtel Drouot Paris, sale catalog May 15, 1899 (Hoffman Collection), no. 50 (an oddly attached right forearm is visible in both sale catalog pictures).

287. **St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 731**
Ht. 18.5 cm.
Text reference: **K-2**, plate 31
Brief description: striding, right arm bent at elbow, left hanging at side; both hands fisted; right ankle and foot missing.
Face: brows are double incised lines; Russmann thinks face similar to that of Athens 632, Shabaqo.
Crown: skullcap, band of cobras.
Uraeus: double, crowned?

Jewelry: neck cord with one amulet; bracelet on right forearm.
Belt: pattern of alternating groups of horizontal and vertical lines.
Body: slender; nipples marked with round punch like mark; navel furrow.
Bibliography: PM 800–817–550; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 353e, incorrectly cited as inv. 736; Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 65 no. 25 (previous bibliography listed), fig. 19; Aldred, *Crépuscule*, p. 283 fig. 280.

288. **St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 3538**
Ht. 28.7 cm.
Brief description: striding; left arm down at side, fist clenched, perforated; right arm bent at elbow held forward to almost breast height, sistrum in perforated fist; odd style.
Face: oval face with small chin; very large eyes, brows incised(?); nose damaged; wide smile.
Crown: nemes; corners on top of headcloth rather pointy; narrow frontlet; hair tabs.
Uraeus: head is either broken or vestigial; uraeus begins at bottom of frontlet; very rudimentary double loop; tail going back straight at least past crown of head.
Jewelry: broad collar indicated by incised lines.
Belt: fairly broad, dips in front, low on hips; diamond pattern.
Body: very high waisted, tripartition, nipples indicated.
Bibliography: PM 800–893–500

289. **Saqqara, number unknown**
Ht. 13 cm.
Text reference: 101, 103
Brief description: striding king, legs below knees missing, remaining left arm bent forward at elbow, hands not preserved.
Observations: nemes with rather flat uraeus so far as visible, broad collar; round face with very wide eyes, wide nose, wide sinuous mouth.
Provenance/History: cache of bronzes including coins, apparently Greek and Roman, east of entrance on north side of Userkaf pyramid, Saqqara.
Bibliography: el-Khouly, "Excavations at Userkaf," cat. 48 p. 39 and pl. 8 no. 4.

290. **Saqqara, number unknown**
Ht. 14.5 cm.
Text reference: 101
Brief description: kneeling king, arms forward palms inward.
Observations: nemes with flat dome and very broad wings, very level over forehead and apparently with no frontlet, uraeus missing, broad collar?; very square face with symmetrical features over thick neck; broad shoulders, nipped waist, bipartition.
Provenance/History: cache of bronzes including coins, apparently Greek and Roman, east of entrance on north side of Userkaf pyramid, Saqqara.
Bibliography: el-Khouly, "Excavations at Userkaf," cat. 49 p. 39 and pl. 8 no. 5.

291. **Switzerland, private collection**
L. 7.3 cm, H. 4.9 cm without tangs
Brief description: recumbent winged sphinx with gold inlay.
Observations: front paws missing, very long tangs.
Bibliography: Page-Gasser, *Augenblicke*, pp. 210–11.

292. **Tanis, OAE 3412, Sân 03–300**
Ht. 12 cm. with tangs adding another 2.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-22**
Brief description: headless statuette of a kneeling king, arms missing.
Manufacture: two large thick rectangular tangs.
Provenance/History: western sector of forecourt of Amun temple at Tanis, one of the pits (thought by authors to have been dug for the burial of broken temple material) which were dug from now denuded layers; Third Intermediate Period material and one problematic Bes jar aside, "à l'exception des jarres (fig. 20 et fig. 11) et peut-être du pichet (fig. 21) qui appartiennent vraisemblablement à la période saïte, le reste des documents examinés s'intègre parfaitement dans le cadre de la fin de la Basse Époque (V-IV siècle av. J.-C.)" (p. 348 of Chauvet and Marchand).
Crown: missing, but upward crown; long streamer from neckline to waist visible in back view.
Belt: upper edge may dip somewhat more than lower across front surface of body.
Body: well modeled (drawing only).
Bibliography: Brissaud, "Rapport" p. 86 and 94 (drawings); Chauvet and Marchand, "Céramique," 335–349, esp. pp. 338–9 and fig. 8 (incorrectly referred to as a priest).

293. **Turin, Museo Egizio C 1391**
Ht. 10 cm. on top of censer shaft
Brief description: not seen, described as kneeling king in Lower Egyptian crown with hands forward on a cartouche-shaped box.
Bibliography: Fabretti, *Torino* I, p. 108 no. 1391.

294. **Turin, Museo Egizio C 1394**
Ht. 4.1 cm.
Text reference: **K-43**
Brief description: head of figure.
Face: fleshy crease on sides of nose and mouth.
Crown: cap with band of cobras.
Uraeus: double.
Condition: very battered.
Bibliography: Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 67 no. IIB33.

295. **Turin, Museo Egizio C 1395**
Ht. 3 cm.
Brief description: small head.
Observations: nemes (or khat?) with very large uraeus; very large eyes.
Bibliography: Fabretti, *Torino* I, p. 109 no. 1395.

296. **Turin, Museo Egizio P 148**
Ht. 11 cm.
Brief description: kneeling king, arms missing.
Observations: nemes with prominent uraeus; figure very slim and tubular.

297. **Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum 747**
Ht. 6.5 cm.
Text reference: 122
Brief description: no image, based on Roeder; seated king, hands on knees.
Observations: double crown and beard.
Bibliography: 800–894–300; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 350e.

298. **Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum 6613**
Ht. 17.5 cm.
Text reference: **LPPt-7**, plate 55
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held up to chest height, holding *nw* pots.
Face: large eyes, left with iris/pupil indicated, natural or barely plastic brows; nose a bit mashed?; marked cheekbones; small compressed lips, barely turned up; rather wide jaw.
Crown: red crown, with square short tabs on the side, back edge comes up just at back of earlobe; crown is actually rather small on head, low on brow.
Uraeus: none.
Belt; moderately wide.
Body: wide shoulders, narrow waist; distance knee to torso is very short; very strongly marked collarbones, neck/body juncture sinews, including even Adam's apple and throat cords; pectorals prominent, even pointy, nipples marked; jutting hips.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–560; Demel, "Bronzestatuette" (eighth century); H. Demel, *Ägyptische Kunst* (Vienna, 1947), pp. 22, 29, pl. 31; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 355b; Russmann, "Royal Statuette," p. 153 n. 27; Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, para. 355b; Seipel, *Götter*, pp. 278–9 (entry by E. Haslauer: Necho II – Apries).

299. **Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe 147394**
Ht. 16.5 cm.
Brief description: kneeling, arms bent at elbows and held forward, palms inward.
Observations: nemes with frontlet and uraeus, broad face.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–580; K. Michalowski, *Sztuka starozytna* (Warsaw, 1955), pp. 147–8, fig. 99; Myśliwiec, (1988), p. 47.

300. **Zurich, probably 1980s**
Ht. 25.3 cm.
Brief description: striding king and Horus, the latter's left arm on the king, all other arms down fists clenched, at least the king's p. l. holding a rolled cloth?
Manufacture: flat, thin integral base.
Face: not enough detail to see well; king has a peculiar pursed smile, divine-type beard.

Crown: white crown; swells above head instead of staying roughly the same dimension as usually.
Uraeus: large uraeus, double loop, wavy tail extending two-thirds of the way up the crown.
Jewelry: broad collar with drops at lower edge; beaded apron over front of kilt.
Belt: slight dip, moderate width; seems to be decorated.
Body: bipartition; fairly pointy marked nipples, otherwise not strongly modeled; round navel.

301. **Zurich, 1978**
Ht. 8 cm.
Text reference: **TIP-19**, plate 28
Brief description: kneeling king, arms bent forward at elbows, hands holding *nw* pots at waist height; knees higher than toes.
Manufacture: single tangs under two knees and apparently under two toes.
Face: triangular face, with fairly large eyes; wide level mouth with wide lips; unlined rectangular beard set behind the ball of the chin; two lines on throat.
Crown: nemes with square hole in the top.
Uraeus: corroded, tail seems to be either unusually broad winding loop on either side of the uraeus body or a coiled tail.
Belt: wide and level.
Body: flat, marked pectorals, round navel in flat torso; kilt pleats not indicated.
Bibliography: PM 800–895–640; Sotheby's London, sale catalog June 1921 (Amherst Collection), lot 106; Christie's London, sale catalog July 12, 1977 (D. F. Ward), lot 41; Arete: Galerie für Antike Kunst, List 14: Antike Bronzen (Zurich), dealer catalog 1978, no. 1.

APPENDIX 1:

THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL KNEELING POSE WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO EGYPTIAN STONE STATUARY

This appendix is included to provide a background and reference resource for the chapter that seeks to clarify the focus and meaning of small bronze kneeling statuary, the main type in the royal bronze corpus. It records developments in the kneeling poses seen in stone statuary where they have a long history and are often represented by large, inscribed, and datable examples.

While I have tried to be thorough, more attention is given to numbers (questionable as they are since the evidence is heavily dominated by that from Theban sites), details, and variants from early periods through the New Kingdom, since that is the span during which major shifts are apparent. For the Third Intermediate Period onward, partly because difficulties relating to the preservation of evidence are very large and partly because implications for bronzes are less significant, the appendix is most useful simply as a demonstration of some kind of continuity rather than a sensitive gauge of shifts, and finer distinctions in the patterns of usage could certainly be sought and would be revealing.

Relevant relief depictions are, of course, extremely important. The sporadically preserved evidence before the New Kingdom will be mentioned here. For the period from the New Kingdom onwards, relief depictions are basic to understanding the role of small statuary and are covered mainly in the chapter on role with only exceptional examples noted here.

Early Dynastic Period through Old Kingdom

Perhaps the earliest known possibly royal kneeling statues are a limestone pair from the Early Dynastic temple at Hierakonpolis. The member of the pair known to Egyptologists depicts a bearded man wearing a penis sheath and a large wig with peculiarly tied locks; he sits with one knee raised, the other bent beneath him with the foot turned to the side, and hands resting open downwards on his thighs.[1] Through

[1] This two-thirds lifesize limestone pair was found at Hierakonpolis in association with the remains of the Early Dynastic temple (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis* I, p. 6 and pl. II and Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis* II pl. I, pp. 34–35, the more intact measuring 85 cm or 33 inches). See PM V p. 196. The statues were *in situ* in the original level of the Early Dynastic temple according to Quibell's reading of the notoriously confused archaeological evidence here. The more complete statue is preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, as JE 32159, the second may have been left at the site or may be a female statue (see below in this note). Various accoutrements and the hunched shoulders, short neck, and overlarge thrusting head indeed confirm that the piece belongs to the archaic period. Quibell and Green queried whether the statue might represent a king. Petrie compared the hair and beard to the first standard bearer on the Narmer palette; Williams, "Narmer," 25, compares the pose to that of a group of figures on an ivory knife handle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. There are a number of recent close evaluations of the statue itself. Sourouzian, "Concordances et écarts," pp. 318, 338, fig. 22a-d, establishes comparisons to

comparison of the various features of the statue to relief depictions on small objects and stelae, a date to the First Dynasty has recently been well-argued. Also from the archaic period is the granite statue of Hetepdief, a private person apparently in service to royal funerary cults, from Mit Rahina. His sits with his weight supported on his toes, and his hands rest downwards on his thighs.[2]

The kneeling offering pose for kings is first attested in the Old Kingdom. The earliest example is deduced from a fragment, roughly half lifesize, preserving a left hand cupped about a *nw* pot, beneath the hand the remains of a thigh covered by the pleated royal kilt.[3] This fragment is recorded as having come from the Valley Temple or Sphinx Temple of Khafre and is worked in gneiss, a fact which tends further to support the probability of its actually belonging to a statue of Khafre.[4] With this piece it becomes apparent that the royal kneeling and offering pose had developed already in Dynasty 4, the defining period for the Old Kingdom and for many conventions of Egyptian art.

Also from the Old Kingdom and long the only known example of the royal kneeling pose from that period is the small figure of Pepi I of Dynasty 6.[5] Another kneeling king without provenance and a fragment from the Karnak Cachette probably from a kneeling statuette have been proposed to represent Pepi II on good grounds.[6] It is also perhaps relevant to understanding the nature of kneeling offering kings that offering sphinxes – avatars of the divine king and certainly never termed serving

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other depictions supporting the First Dynasty date for the piece, and also demonstrates that the figure cannot be either a prisoner or a foreigner. Fay, "Royal Women," pp. 115–6 and notes 86–92, proposes that the second statue referred to by Quibell is actually the early female statue Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 71586. A study is planned by Marianne Eaton-Krauss with whom I briefly discussed the kneeling man. I agree that the man cannot be a prisoner as he is not in any way bound, and the idea that he is a foreigner based on features that later mark foreigners (but not clearly or very consistently in the Old Kingdom) is not particularly tenable. All the recent studies agree that the man's hair arrangement is only matched by the Mit Fares statue of Amenemhat III as a priest (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 395, see Borchardt, *Statuen*). There is the possibility then that this early statue depicts a king in a priestly role.

2 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1, h. 40 cm, well-illustrated and discussed in Terrace-Fischer, pp. 25–28. On his shoulder are written the names of Hetepsekhemui, Raneb and Ninetjer, the first three kings of Dynasty 2, whose funerary priest he may have been, though his statue itself very likely belongs to Dynasty 3. The statue was found at Memphis, and thus quite likely belongs in a temple context rather than in Hetepdief's tomb. Marianne Eaton-Krauss proposes that a number of the Djoser period statues of non-royal persons were actually temple rather than tomb statuary, so our established conceptions of temple and tomb statuary need to be reexamined for this early period in any case, see "Pre-Canonical," pp. 209—226.

3 Hildesheim 69, l. 6.5 cm. See Martin-Pardey, *CAA-Hildesheim* 1, pp. 70–73. Many of the references to kneeling royal statuary given hereafter are ultimately derived from Hartwig Altenmüller, "Königsplastik," coll. 557–610.

4 See Wildung, "Two Representations of Gods," pp. 150–151 regarding the distribution of gneiss (Chephren diorite) statuary, although it is certainly distributed more widely than he notes, see Hill, "Sahura," p. 330 n. 4 in Do. Arnold, *Pyramids*.

5 Brooklyn 39.121, h. 15.2 cm, published thoroughly by Romano, "Sixth Dynasty," pp. 242–243, figs. 20–28. Romano notes the figure may have been gilded originally. See also Hill, "Pepi I Kneeling," pp. 434–5 in Do. Arnold, *Pyramids*.

6 Kofler-Trauniger collection, head and upper torso of a king with added cartouche of Amenhotep I, h. 8.8 cm, originally illustrated and discussed by M. Müller in Schögl, *Don*, no. 173 pp. 52–53; Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42099, also discussed by Maya Müller with the previous. Both are most recently discussed and the second well-illustrated by Romano, "Sixth Dynasty," pp. 272–273 and figs. 66–67, where the early date is suggested. Both show evidence of the undercutting seen especially in the late Old Kingdom.

figures – are first known from the Sixth Dynasty.[7]

Types of non-royal offering statuary go back at least to the Early Dynastic Period.[8] The pose with *nw* pots, which becomes very preponderantly a royal position, was apparently first adopted for use by a private person already in the Old Kingdom.[9]

The use of the pose for a private funerary priest is documented in the Old Kingdom by the statue of Kaemqed who was apparently the funerary priest for the early Fifth Dynasty official in whose tomb he was found.[10] This statue is one of the type called "serving statues," many of whom kneel, squat and occupy other serving/acting poses while performing their various jobs. Interestingly, they seem at least sometimes to represent peers and children of the deceased person in various serving roles vis à vis the deceased person.[11] Other examples of private kneeling statues include one of granite with hand downward on the thigh, and another of wood whose attitude is otherwise unclear.[12]

Bound statues of kneeling prisoners rendered with great attention to their distress exist from the Early Dynastic Period and throughout the Old Kingdom but are very numerous in Dynasty 6.[13]

In the Old Kingdom, then, the kneeling pose is certainly used to indicate service or submission associated with priestly roles. One very early figure may perhaps represent a kneeling priest king. While the royal use can be read as a serving role vis à vis the gods, it is useful then to recall the existence of offering sphinxes and, moreover, the proposed ambivalence of serving statuettes belonging to tomb owners. As the latter may also be the children or peers of the tomb owner, it may be that contemporary kneeling offering kings carry the implication that the king is dutiful peer or child of the gods.

First Intermediate Period

A limestone statuette with a uraeus in a private collection bears the name Intef and has been attributed to Intef II of Thebes in the First Intermediate Period.[14] The statuette is also, unusually for these kneeling kings, very briefly inscribed with a *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*. If the statue is ancient and the inscription not added, this statue presents a number of anomalies. Even more recently the same statuette has been discussed,

[7] See Hill, "Sphinx of Merenre I," p. 437 in Do. Arnold, *Pyramids*.

[8] See the group noted by Russmann, "Amenemope-em-hat," n. 15.

[9] Wildung, "Privatplastik," col. 1118, no. 19, reports that the piece was found by A. Abu Bakr at Giza, and dates to dynasty 5/6. See now Z. Hawass, *Hidden Treasures of The Cairo Museum* (2002) p. 18, 33 cm.

[10] The statue of Kaemqed (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG119; h. 43 cm), well-illustrated and discussed in Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 32–36. The figure's weight rests on his bent toes, and he has his hands folded together in his lap, a gesture which may be associated with priestly office (see Eaton-Krauss, "Pre-Canonical").

[11] See Ann Roth, "Serdab Statues." She believes these are ka statues. Scribe statues, which do not always in the earliest times even carry scribe equipment and are narrowly associated with king's sons during the fourth dynasty, are possibly to be understood in relation to this phenomenon, as she also points out.

[12] Pp. 228–9 and fig 3 of Patocková, "Ptahshepses;" pp. 167–8 of M. Verner, "Excavations at Abousir," *ZÄS* 107 (1980) pp. 167–8. Both tombs are dated by excavators to the reign of Niuserre.

[13] Hill, "Kneeling Captive," pp. 440–441 in Do. Arnold, *Pyramids*.

[14] Basel private collection, limestone, 11.2 cm high, purchased in Luxor; Schott, "Antef-Statuette."

taking cognizance of all its peculiarities, and dated to an unspecified king of the late Seventeenth Dynasty.[15] Because of its questionable status, it will only be mentioned here.

Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period

A fairly continuous series of royal statues kneeling and – whenever an indication is preserved – offering *nw* pots exists beginning with Mentuhotep III:

Menuthotep III, alabaster, 32 cm high (lower portion only), from the Karnak cachette, with *nw* pots preserved[16]

Senwosret I, gneiss, 47.5 cm high (not preserved below belt, including any offering vessels), findspot unknown[17]

Senwosret II, brown sandstone (quartzite?), 86 cm as preserved only from below waist, from Mit Rahina[18]

Senwosret III, sandstone, 52 cm high, fully preserved though damaged, with *nw* pots preserved, inscribed for Senwosret III, beloved of Amun-Re[19]

Senwosret III, red granite, measurements unknown but lower part only preserved, from Dedun Temple at Semna[20]

Amenemhat III, dark "granite," 44 cm high with head broken off, *nw* pots preserved, inscribed for Amenemhat III, beloved of Hathor, Mistress of Gebelein[21]

Amenemhat III, granite, 21 cm high though only the base and the perimeter of the kneeling figure are preserved (no *nw* pots preserved), inscribed with the names of Amenemhat III as beloved of Sobek of Shedet, Lord of the White Crown, so probably from the Faiyum and transferred from there to Old Cairo where found[22]

Nefrusobek, dark stone, no size given but appears fairly large, hand position unclear, from Tanis.[23]

Furthermore, a fairly large (26.5 cm) black bronze kneeling king, probably to be identified as Amenemhat III although uninscribed (cat. 128 discussed in the Middle

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[15] Winterhalter, "Plastik der 17. Dynastie," especially pp. 279—284. The author feels the peculiarity of the inscription can be accounted for by the fact that the kneeling king is making an offering for a king Intef. Other kneeling kings, however, simply do not have such inscriptions.

[16] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG42006 (see Legrain, *Statues*); a second similar figure was damaged but may also represent Mentuhotep III – Legrain, "Travaux," p. 28 no. 3.

[17] Berlin 1205; Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 48–49.

[18] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 387 (Borchardt, *Statuen*); inscribed with the epithet "He who makes festive the temple of Ptah-Sokar." Discussed by Quirke, "Gods," p. 36.

[19] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG42013; inscribed with the throne name of the king. This statue, the following, and those of Amenemhat III are listed with bibliography by Polz, *Porträtplastik*, pp. 18 and 45.

[20] Khartoum 448.

[21] No. E133 in Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord* IV, p. 139, fig. 134, pl. 116; it seems this piece is erroneously ascribed to Amenemhat I by Quirke, "Gods," p. 37.

[22] Cairo, Museum of the Cloister Saint George, no number.

[23] Habachi, "Qantír," p. 459 and plate 7B. The statue is only preserved from beneath the head. There are conflicting opinions about whether the queen's hands originally lay flat on her thighs or curved upwards to hold *nw* pots; she did, however, wear the male royal kilt, so it seems likely she – like Hatshepsut – was represented with her hands in the traditional royal male attitude, that is offering.

Kingdom-New Kingdom chapter), is said to be from Hawara, area of the pyramid complex of this king, of extensive temple construction by him, and of continuing importance in Dynasty 13.

With Dynasty 12, then, it is demonstrable that the pose is integrated in the usual complement of stone royal statues. The kneeling statues are all fairly large, estimated to be roughly a half meter to a meter and a half originally. Provenances and inscriptions indicate these were temple statues directed to gods, although in some cases a god's temple in association with a king's pyramid complex is possible.[24]

Relief depictions of actual kneeling offering kings are known. For example, Mentuhotep Nebhepetre is shown kneeling before Osiris on a relief from Abydos, and Senwosret I kneels before Min on reliefs in the White Chapel at Karnak.[25] Moreover, from the later Middle Kingdom comes the earliest known depiction of a royal kneeling statue or statuette. This is found on a stray relief fragment from the area of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat III at Hawara.[26] This statue, wearing the khat, is depicted as kneeling on the deck of a boat, presumably a divine bark to judge from what follows in the New Kingdom, supporting a column or pole with leaves attached. This relief scene points to one possible association of small kneeling kings. It is known that statues of the gods traveled out of the temples on their portable barks, which with image and shrine were termed "protected image" (*sšm ḫw*) and described as "uplifting the beauty" (*wṯs-nfrw*) of a god, since at least the early Middle Kingdom.[27] It is interesting that statuettes of kings might have been necessary to the ritual functions performed by such processions.

From Dynasty 13 two royal examples are known to me:

Sebekhotep, black stone, 28 cm high as preserved from below elbows, possibly from Heliopolis[28]

Sebekhotep V, granite, 47 cm high, findplace unknown but probably Kerma, inscribed "The Perfect God, Khahetepre, Beloved of Satet, Mistress of Elephantine."[29]

Finally, the small king discussed above as a possible example of the First Intermediate Period has more recently been suggested to date to Dynasty 17.

A major private kneeling offering statue exists from Dynasty 13: Heqaib, son of

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24 For the issue see Quirke, "Gods."

25 The relief from Abydos is Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 45045, and the reliefs in the White Chapel are depicted in pls. 22 and 38 of Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sesostris Ier*. An odd kneeling figure holding *nw* pots and wearing a headdress very much like the nemes without a uraeus appears in the upper row of offerers before Ukhhotep and his wife and below the offerings and offering list in tomb B2 at Meir (Blackman, *Meir*, p. 17, pl. 30/2). The figure probably derives from the small ritual figures seen with offering lists (Vandier, *Manuel* IV, pp. 106–113). One might examine the flux of relationships between god and king and fecundity figure as offerers (Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 209), along with the well-known instability in the understanding of royal versus official prerogatives at this time for an explanation of the specific form of the figure.

26 Eaton-Krauss, "Statuendarstellung," col. 1263 and n. 19; illustrated in Petrie, *Labyrinth*, p. 32 and pl. 29 upper right.

27 Kitchen, "Barke," coll. 619—625. Bark processions are discussed further in the chapter on role.

28 Berlin 37/74; noted by Davies, *Reattributed*, cat. 43, p. 29; illustrated (incorrectly identified as Sebekhotep I) in Sotheby's, London, December 26, 1964 (sale catalog-Brummer Collection), lot 98.

29 Berlin 10645 with two fragments from Boston; long unidentified, the piece has recently been recognized to fit two fragments in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston which were excavated in 1913–14 at Kerma, and which bear the inscription noted. Published in Wildung, *Sudan*, no. 128. As Wildung notes, the statue must have been created for the Satet Temple, taken to Kerma, and from there to the antiquities market in Luxor where it was purchased.

Satuny from Elephantine, who shows himself wearing the royal kilt – a not unknown phenomenon in Dynasties 12 and 13 – and proffering *nw* pots.[30]

There is other private interest in the kneeling pose in the Late Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period. A small Dynasty 13 statuette from the Lisht cemeteries dressed in a long private garment kneels and offers what seem to have been *nw* pots, and a wooden headless Dynasty 17 or 18 Theban kneeling tomb statuette in apparently a royal kilt is missing its arms but could have been an offering statuette.[31] There are additionally a few other examples at this time of small statuary holding disproportionately large vessels that appear to be cosmetic or unguent type vessels.[32] A non-offering statue kneeling on fully extended feet with hands flat on the thighs is known from Karnak and dated by the excavators to later Dynasty 12.[33]

New Kingdom

With the New Kingdom, the picture of the development of the kneeling statue type becomes very complicated. Many other royal versions appear besides those attested already. Private kneeling statuary becomes for the first time a significant and interesting genre. Moreover, kneeling poses of kings and of statuary are represented in relief particularly from the time of early dynasty 18 onward at Thebes and at Abydos from the time of Seti I.[34]

Royal kneeling statues in the standard pose offering nw pots

Many royal statues kneeling in the standard pose and holding *nw* pots exist from the New Kingdom. Most of these statues are from Thebes and name the king as beloved

[30] Habachi, *Hekaib*, p. 57 and plates 88–92; gray granite, 70 cm high. The statue is inscribed with the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula. Habachi dated the statue to Amenemhat III; Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, pp. 147 ff. dates the statue to Amenemhat III also. However, particularly the Ameniseneb building works and the dating sequence established from that seem possibly too early. Perhaps the assumption that an inscription of Amenemhat III (inscription added to that of an earlier 11th Dynasty king) on a lintel used in the shrine was of the time of the construction and dated the shrine itself could be erroneous. I am grateful for discussions with Dorothea Arnold. Most of the statuary seems actually 13th dynasty – much of it even well into dynasty 13 – on art historical grounds. This major group of material needs to be restudied and seen in the context of a better understanding of 13th dynasty statuary in general.

[31] The Lisht statuette was Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. 15.3.347 (deaccessioned), noted by Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 214; serpentine (?), 10 cm with head broken off. The association with any tomb is not clear. On stylistic grounds – the double-tabbed long coat – the statuette ought to be Dynasty 13 rather than late Dynasty 12. Much of the Lisht cemetery consists of late Dynasty 12 and 13 private burials. The Theban statuette is Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. 16.10.437; wood, 26.2 cm with head broken off; the odd kilt is a short one split up the center, perhaps for an inserted shendyt tab?

[32] I am aware of a standing figure supporting a large vessel on a stand (Fitzwilliam E.6.1914 of Dynasty 13 date, in Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals,* p. 140 cat. 141) and a double statuette on one plinth, the man with a cylindrical pot facing the woman with a squat cosmetic pot (ht. 10 cm, from Thebes, Metropolitan Museum of Art excavation records, dated there possibly Dynasty 13). On one side the lineage of such figures may go back to the Early Dynastic Period servants offering vessels, see the group noted by Russmann, “Amenemope-em-hat,” n. 15; on the other side, perhaps they prefigure the very similar royal type from the early New Kingdom where the king holds a disproportionately large pot (a relation to New Kingdom private statuary proffering cult objects seems less transparent).

[33] Pp. 311–2 and pl. X in Le Saout, “Moyen Empire.”

[34] Discussed in the chapter on role.

of Amun or Re; I have tried to note inscriptions that give any unusual information.

The type of the kneeling king offering *nw* pots continues to be used during Dynasty 18. Always bearing in mind problems of preservation, still at least one very clear peak of interest seems apparent:

Thutmose II

headless, inscribed, no other information, from Karnak[35]

Thutmose II (*?*)

alabaster, 37 cm as fully preserved, from Karnak cachette[36]

Hatshepsut

8 colossal statues, red granite, 2.75 m high originally, from Deir el-Bahri[37]

gray granite, relatively small, from Edfu[38]

Thutmose III, 11 attributed on the basis of inscription, all mentioning Amun:

diorite, 59 cm high, headless, Luxor cachette[39]

diorite, 1.38 m high, Karnak

diorite, 1.32 m high, Karnak cachette[40]

marble, 51 cm as preserved from waist downward, arms missing but clearly held *nw* pots, from the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak according to the inscription[41]

limestone, 1.27 m high without head, Karnak[42]

red quartzite, 44 cm high without head, Karnak cachette[43]

diorite, 67–80 cm without head, Karnak[44]

"black granite," 73.5 cm high without head, *nw* pots missing but clearly were there, from Deir el-Bahri, inscribed as beloved of Amun of Djeser-Akhet[45]

marble, 27.5 cm, from Deir el-Medina[46]

diorite, 38.8 cm without head, *nw* pots missing but were clearly held, inscribed as beloved of Amun[47]

green basalt, 48 cm as restored during Imperial Roman and/or Renaissance era[48]

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[35] Thutmose II, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41208, PM II/2 281; Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture*, p. 61, inscribed but not illustrated.

[36] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42062, uninscribed and attribution doubtful, Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture*, p. 66.

[37] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art Archives. Some of the inscriptions refer to Amun of Djeser-Djeseru; the inscriptions are very helpfully discussed by Tefnin (*Hatshepsut*, pp. 71–97).

[38] The Edfu example is not pictured or described in detail, but is called a "statuette" (PM VI, 168; Barsanti, "Edfou," pp. 233–236).

[39] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, Catalog of statues no. C14, pp. 110–111.

[40] With the previous, Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C23–24, pp. 128–133.

[41] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C48, pp. 192–3.

[42] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C64, pp. 220–1.

[43] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C68, p. 230.

[44] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C74, p. 247.

[45] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C90, p. 260–1.

[46] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C106, pp. 280–2.

[47] Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C116, p. 298.

[48] Paris, Louvre AF 6936; see Lollio Barberi, *Antichità*, pp. 192–3. I am grateful to Robert Bianchi for calling this statue to my attention.

Amenhotep II
red granite, 1.52 m high, reputed provenance from the king's tomb (doubtful)[49]
"black granite," 71.1 cm high[50]
white limestone, 29.3 cm[51]
white limestone, 33.4 cm, from Hu[52]

Amenhotep II (?)
indurated limestone, 21 cm without head, found in his funerary temple on the West Bank at Thebes, probably held *nw* pots[53]

Tutankhamun or Horemhab
diorite, 83.5 cm high, part of a group from the Luxor cachette[54]

For dynasty 19 and 20 only two examples are known to me:

probable *Ramesses IV*
green schist, roughly one meter[55]

usurped by *Ramesses VI*
graywacke, 42 cm[56]

Small kneeling kings holding *nw* pots appear in bronze first with Thutmose III as discussed elsewhere.

Royal kneeling statues in the standard pose holding other offerings

First during dynasty 18 other types of objects begin to be held by kneeling kings: ritual vessels (first instance Hatshepsut, who created twelve small examples which hold what seems to be a ritual vessel – though no opening is apparent – with an

[49] Turin 1375 (illustrated in Aldred, *New Kingdom*, pl. 53), was acquired by Drovetti in the early 19th century and is said to be from the king's tomb. The king's tomb was not actually discovered and excavated until Loret's investigations much later; Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 220 note 89 also feels the statue is "almost certainly not" from the king's tomb.

[50] Sotheby's London December 14, 1995 (sale catalog), lot 58, restored; no provenance, but in England since 1759.

[51] Wearing the double crown, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. 13.182.6.

[52] Wearing the double crown, Museum of Fine Art, Boston, acc. 99.7333/Louvre E3176.

[53] UC 14665, pp. 61–2 in Page, *Petrie Museum*; the piece has remains of a headdress which ends in back in a bird's tail.

[54] El-Saghir, *Luxor*, pp. 35–40; discussed further and illustrated by Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, pp. 232–234 and plates 56a-c.The diorite figure of the king kneeling and holding *nw* pots, measuring 83.5 cm high, and that of the god Atum, measuring 190.7 cm, were carved on separate plug bases which were then fitted into a large common base so that the two statues were joined into a set. This is the first large example to suggest that what seem to be freestanding statues might in fact be rigidly grouped. It is theoretically possible that some earlier statues were rigidly grouped, but the necessary gods would on first consideration seem to be lacking. This could have other explanations, of course. There are certainly other examples of statues composed of interacting figures. Louvre AF2577, 1.43 cm high, quartzite, is a monolithic group of the god Khnum seated with traces of the sandaled feet of a kneeling king facing him; the statue may have come from the Temple of Thutmose III at Elephantine (Jacques Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 382 n.1). Another monolithic group with a seated Ptah faced by the lower part of a kneeling figure stands in the Ptah Temple of Karnak, but damage and lack of inscriptions do not permit a dating (illustrated in Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* ii, p. 311).

[55] British Museum 1816; the entire forepart (knees, hands, and lower arms with offering vessels) is restored, but from the angle of preserved parts of the arms it is difficult to know what else besides *nw* pots the king could have held; illustrated James, *Egyptian Sculpture*, fig. 57.

[56] Berlev and Hodjash, *Museums*, pp. 58–9 and pl. 84.

attached *djed*),[57] ointment pots (first example Thutmose III),[58] offering tables (first definite example Thutmose III),[59] emblems (first example Thutmose IV as prince),[60] while Akhenaten creates rare small kneeling worshipping (?) examples.[61] Except for the last, these variants continue and flourish in Dynasty 19 beginning with Seti I. First attested in sculpture in Dynasty 19 is the *maat* offering given by the bronze statuette of Ramesses II (NK-3). Ramesses II is the first known example of a few royal figures holding a naos, while Merneptah is apparently the first statue of a few which directly hold an image.[62]

A non-offering variant of the standard kneeling pose involves the depiction of the coronation or election of the king by a god; an example of Amenhotep II depicted the king facing the god Amun, and one of Amenhotep III is the first documented depicting the king kneeling with his back to the god.[63]

One statue fragment of Ramesses II as described is difficult to explain in any of the above discussed categories.[64]

Royal statues in non-standard kneeling poses

A much different sort of kneeling posture becomes – if not exactly popular – at least well attested. This is actually a range of postures which depict a running kneel where one leg advances more or less far in front of the other and the king offers or pushes

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57 E.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. 23.3.1; see the discussion in Tefnin, *Hatshepsut*, pp. 88–97.

58 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42060/1 (see Legrain, *Statues*), both alabaster, one bearing the king's name as beloved of Amun, h. 36 cm, the other uninscribed, h. 40 cm, and attributed by Lindblad to Amenhotep I, pp. 38–40 and pl. 21 of *Royal Sculpture*.

59 Karnak, granite, Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, C30, pp. 140–1; Amenhotep II also had at Karnak a large gray granite statue holding an offering table, measuring 1.2 m in height (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42073). See also Dittmar, "Ein Bruchstück" and Fay, "British Museum 21979" for more background on this pose in royal and private usage.

60 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 923 (Borchardt, *Statuen*); see also Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, p. 211 and pl. I.

61 Excepting the one small unfinished example of Akhenaten in the running kneel pose (see further below), Akhenaten's kneeling statuettes seem very small ones that originally held their arms out straight before them, probably in a worshipping posture (e.g., Berlin 21637, Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 350 RNE 24 and pl. CXIV); *contra* Petrie, *Amarna*, p. 18 (see already the observations of Williams, "Torsos," p. 87 on this point), no fragments recognizably from kneeling offering statues have been found in fragments from the Great Temple of the Aten at Akhetaten, a large collection of which are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The substitute – though surely a modified concept is embodied – for offering statuary during that king's reign is the standing statue holding an offering table, e.g. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43580, Saleh and Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum*, no. 160. On the other hand, small royal kneeling figures holding huge conical loaves (?) are shown in relief at the edge of offering tables in the form of a throne in the Amarna period as noted by Aldred ("Image," p. 46 and n. 46) and thereafter. See the discussion on problematic aspects of this type of occurrence in the chapter on role. That said, the kneeling statuettes in relief seem to have bent their arms to hold the loaves, differently from the Amarna figures discussed in this note.

62 Ramesses II with naos, two examples: Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 416h; Lollio Barberi, *Antichità*, pp. 168–9. Merneptah with naos: Sourouzian, *Merenptah*, p. 63d. For divine images, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 562, Merneptah kneeling holding a seated Ptah, red granite, 1.45 m (Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 423 RNE 45); another example possibly holding a divine image depicts Apries, see below. For seated and standing later New Kingdom royal statues with divine images see Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 423 RNE 43 and 44.

63 Sourouzian, "Raccords," pp. 242–245.

64 Diorite, 35 cm high as preserved to near waist, traces of left arm on thigh, no traces on opposite thigh; Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 988 (Borchardt, *Statuen*).

an object in front of him.[65] In relief representations dating to Seti I figures in this pose are depicted offering *nw* pots, among other objects, but no preserved statue in this posture actually holds these. Actual statues seem to proffer less standard objects or offerings, ones which, along with the stronger directionality of the king's action, suggest a more particular and less regularized interaction with the god. The posture seems to first appear in actual statuary with Thutmose III (also statues depicted in relief in private tombs from the time of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II), and is certainly known during the time of Amenhotep III.[66] It is most frequently seen in the Ramesside Period, but then appears intermittently in three-dimensional examples or relief representations through the Ptolemaic Period.[67]

Such statuary is sometimes referred to as prostrate statuary, but the term seems better reserved for a few examples actually shown lying upon their stomachs (the earliest example known to me is cat. 95 of the Middle Kingdom), a pose whose use and meaning require particular study.[68]

Observations and other possibly relevant New Kingdom phenomena

Quite obviously the pose of the kneeling king offering *nw* pots was very popular during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. It seems considerably less popular thereafter, but some part of the impression is probably due to the differential survival of evidence; in any case the pose continued in use. Other offerings or objects proffered appeared even during the time of Hatshepsut and other variations on the kneeling pose arose probably with Thutmose III and definitely with Amenhotep III.

The apparent relative decline in the use of the classical pose in stone statuary is probably partly a reflection of the attention to the other kind of representation that may show specific ritual moments involving the proffering of new types of objects.

An even closer look at the period of Hatshepsut as certainly one climax of the development of the classic pose is warranted. As noted above Hatshepsut probably had eight truly colossal statues, 2.75 m high, showing herself kneeling and offering *nw* pots; all of these stood in her Deir el-Bahri temple, where a bark chapel for Amun's bark was housed and his presence a focal feature. These statues could not have been accommodated in a small shrine and, judging from their uniformity of size, ought to have been deployed as a group. According to Winlock's original thoughts, which Tefnin follows, they might have stood in two facing rows in the peristyle court

[65] The pose is thoroughly discussed by Müller in "Torso," who develops its history further. He points out the strong sense of motion it conveys and its very great difference in this respect from the standard kneeling pose.

[66] Head probably from such a statue of Thutmose III according to the careful analysis of Laboury, *Thoutmosis III*, pp. 349–350; statuette of Amenhotep III, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. 66.99.28; first representation – crouching much lower – in the tomb of Rekhmire, see Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 376 RNE 30.

[67] There is an example of Akhenaten holding a sketched in censer, Berlin 21238 (see Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 351 R.N.E. 25, where he doubts the piece holds a censer; left leg abnormally thrown back), and then three times, crouched quite low, for Ramesses II, at least once for Ramesses III. For some later examples see further below.

[68] Laboury refers to the example of Thutmose III just discussed as prostrate, though his reconstruction refers to a statue crouching very low. For a discussion of prostrate statuary, see Fischer, "Prostrate" and "More Prostrate," and Hill, "Favissa."

outside the sanctuary, flanking the route which Amun's bark traveled to the temple bark shrine.[69]

It is not easy to understand her emphasis. Certainly her own very great duty and service toward the god are embodied. Interestingly the statues seem to have had names like doors, and their function might be usefully investigated by comparing them to doorways, presumably both "liminal" and protective.

It is further suggestive that from the late Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom we can begin to trace the emergence of a royal bronze type, and that exactly at the time of Hatshepsut the private kneeling pose emerges as a viable entity. It may be that both these are also expressions in their way of a period of change or new emphasis in the divine cults. The bronzes might even be connected with a special focus on processions of cult images, a matter that is considered particularly in the chapter on role. The development of private poses will be briefly examined here.

Private kneeling statuary becomes a prominent and established type with the reign of Hatshepsut. One example shows her great official Puyemre in an unusual pose in which he kneels sitting on his heels with the upper surface of his feet flat on the ground, and holds two round cups.[70] That particular pose has no considerable subsequent history. But a number of examples show her officials in the standard kneeling pose, and eleven of these depict her greatest official Senenmut; where ascertainable his statues hold divine insignia and have a temple provenance.[71] A number of them seem to refer to Senenmut's role in lifting (*rmn*) the deity.

The meaning and role of such theophoric statuary and the question of the evolution in its meaning and role is quite complicated; eventually it can be used in tombs as well as temples, it may come to describe the owner as protecting rather than lifting the deity, and it can just as easily show a standing figure as a kneeling figure.[72] At least Ramesside and later statues can be interpreted as representing the owner as performing royal temple rituals in the afterlife.[73]

For historical investigations like the present, the intensity of interest in the private

[69] Winlock, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Department Archives, indicates his reasoning was based on depictions of the kneeling king on the sanctuary jambs, but also on one strong associative point: "Additional evidence that these statues came from this court is shown by a fragment of the base probably of G [designation for one of the colossal kneelers]. There is lime mortar on this base up to a height of 7 cm. from the bottom. This tends to show that the statue stood in a paved court, which the peristyle of the temple was. The lower courts were unpaved." Tefnin does not reanalyze the overall statuary program. Karkowski seems to agree with Winlock at least in a general way (p. 43 in "Tempel der Hatschepsut"), though his talk at the May 9/10, 1997 Glanville Lecture series and seminar entitled "The Cult Role of Royal Statues Depicted at Deir el Bahri" is not available to me.

[70] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 910 (Borchardt, *Statuen*), pictured in Hornemann, *Types*, pl. 554.

[71] See Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 464ff. for a framework of the types found. For Senenmut, see Dorman, *Senenmut*, Appendix 2, nos. A.4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15 (actually holding a surveyor's measure so its relationship to the theophoric corpus would require further justification), 16, 17, 20, 21; 5 and 16 refer to lifting Hathor; 4, 14, 17 to lifting Renenutet.

[72] The term theophoric is meant here as a general one intended to include the various types holding naoi, statuary, emblems related to divinity. See Malek, "Ptahmose," pp. 121–2 regarding the finding places of such statues and references he gives in notes there which record the different attempts to understand the statues. The shift from the use by very high officials (even Thutmose IV as prince, see above) to a more widespread Ramesside use associated with a possible drift/shift in meaning is quite interesting. During the long period of its popularity only two statues of theophoric women are known, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE38028 (Hornemann pl. 1027) and CG 42304 (Legrain, *Statues*).

[73] Van Dijk, "Naophorous."

kneeling pose with Senenmut and the explicit ritual references in his inscriptions reinforce the sense that new ritual or cultic emphases are finding expression in this pose.

Third Intermediate Period

While not rich in stone statuary in general, there are two examples of small kneeling royal statues offering *nw* pots which may have originated in the Third Intermediate Period:

Painedjem

(name on shoulders, possibly usurped), basalt, 27 cm as mostly preserved, from the Karnak cachette[74]

attributed to Osorkon

gabbro, 36.8 cm high[75]

The pose with *nw* pots was also adopted – along with proto-royal titles – by a Chief of the Ma Nesbanebdjedet for a small glassy faience statuette.[76]

The Third Intermediate Period is one of very great metal artistry and, moreover, a period when temple roles were given great attention. The pose of the kneeling king holding *nw* pots, sometimes bending forward slightly, and a new pose with hands turned inwards which has no obvious precise parallel in stone statuary is attested several times in bronze. This is discussed in the chapter on role.

Other relevant statuary includes the large running-kneel statue of Osorkon II holding a stela with a prayer text, and the statue of Osorkon III pushing a god's bark before him.[77] Additionally, a head in a private collection has been published as probably belonging to a statue in some sort of extended kneel posture.[78]

Kneeling stone private naophoric and theophoric statues are known.[79] In addition a probably private but pseudo-royal kneeling statuette of bronze, arms missing, is

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[74] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42191; Legrain, *Statues*, notes that the belt buckle seems to show signs of an erased inscription.

[75] Zurich, Archäologisch Sammlung der Universität, KB 4013 (Koradi-Berger collection), 37.4 cm; photographs published pp. 22, 23, 71 of Schlögl, *Stiftung*. The statue had inlaid eyes and a uraeus of another material. I have not seen the statue; in photos the arms are overdeveloped and the chest flaccid. If not at all necessarily Osorkon, a Third Intermediate Period date is possible. The same statue is depicted in Sotheby's London December 9, 1974 (sale catalogue), lot 74 (called eighteenth dynasty), where it is described as "buff quartzite," and the measurement given as 14 1/2 in (36.8 cm), and there it is noted that the back pillar and most of the rectangular plinth are missing, and that a band of dedicatory inscription across the front is partly illegible and partly missing (Schlögl publishes what is apparently a suggested? hand copy at the bottom of the photo accompanying his entry). I thank Barbara Porter for calling the statue to my attention.

[76] The Brooklyn Museum of Art, 37.344E, height 13.8 cm, from Giza. The statuette is illustrated as no. 57 and the important bibliography given most recently in Berlandini, "Tête," p. 16 note 23.

[77] Osorkon II, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1040 + Philadelphia E 16199, from Tanis, gray granite, published by Bothmer, "Osorkon," with accompanying study of the inscriptions by Helen Jacquet-Gordon; Osorkon III, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42197, painted limestone, h. 18 cm, discussed in the Third Intermediate Period chapter. Now also Rudamon with a jar, note 21 on p. 28.

[78] Fazzini, "Several Objects," pp. 118–122 and fig. 3.

[79] E.g., Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42208 and 42229 (see Legrain, *Statues*).

known, showing one Smendes.[80]

Kushite Period

Though they created a considerable number of stone statues, only one certain example of a kneeling Kushite king has survived: a very small damaged glazed steatite statuette of Shabaqo kneeling and proffering a poorly preserved emblem or vessel.[81] A king leaning much further forward which may date to Dynasty 25 has also been noted.[82]

On the other hand, over twenty examples of kneeling bronze Dynasty 25 and Napatan kings are known, holding *nw* pots or with empty hands (see chapter).

A number of kneeling private statues belong to the late Dynasty 25/early Dynasty 26 interval and will be discussed with the Saite Period.

Saite Period

A number of stone examples of Saite royal kneeling statuary exist, although none shows preserved *nw* pots, and in only one instance can this be confidently suggested as the original pose.

Psamtik II

damaged, preserved from waist downward, granite, 34 cm as preserved, from Giza[83]

The type is attested in bronze.

Stone kneeling kings in general include large fragmentary kneeling granite statues of Psamtik I in Copenhagen and Alexandria/London, both of which held some object attached to the lap by negative space, probably an offering table on a high base.[84]

A lower part of a kneeling statue from Letopolis has been noted as preserving the names of both Psamtik and Necho in a context which seems to suggest the former is commemorating the latter, and could refer to either Necho I commemorated by Psamtik I or Necho II commemorated by Psamtik II.[85]

A lower part of a kneeling "offering" statue of Psamtik II is said to be preserved

[80] Cat. 206/TIP-5; The statue has been attributed to various royal Smendes, but, in fact, there is no good inscriptional evidence for doing so. The figure wears a simple short straight wig and the shendyt kilt.

[81] Among the 33 items listed in Edna Russmann's corpus of stone statuary of the Kushite kings (*Representation* pp. 45–56), not one is a kneeling statue. The example now known depicting Shabaqo is Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 1990.10, h. 6.3 cm as preserved.

[82] Vernus, *Athribis*, pp. 81–2; pointed out by Fazzini, "several Objects," note 53.

[83] Berlin 2275, granite, size not noted, photos in the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture; also published in Zivie-Coche, *Giza*, p. 95 and plates 16–17.

[84] Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Antiksamlingen AAb 211/32, probably from Heliopolis, preserved without head; Alexandria 20950 (ex 347) and British Museum 600, probably from Heliopolis, as preserved without head; photographs in the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture. Sizes not noted. Publication references are found in Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 62.

[85] Red granite; Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 68.

in Turin;[86] a small example in London depicting this king holds an offering table.[87]

One fragmentary kneeling statue of Apries holding a statue of Ptah is preserved.[88]

Other relevant statuary includes the large running kneel statue in Florence that may date to Amasis.[89]

With the Late Period the private kneeling theophoric statue increases greatly in popularity. Exampes are so numerous that certain types of emblems or shapes of naoi can be seen to have special periods of popularity.[90]

One private kneeling pose is newly developed during the Late Period and very important. This is the kneeling pose with hands flat on the thighs; about 50 examples of such kneeling statues without attributes are known, ranging all the way from the Saite to Ptolemaic Period, with greater frequency pre-Persian than post.[91]

There is also, from early Dynasty 26, one known example of a private bronze of a high official in the pose of a kneeling bronze king with arms raised and palms turned inwards.[92] A variety of small bronze kneeling priest-like figures were intended for the private votive bronze groups of the Late Period, and are shown worshipping, offering *nw* pots, offering tables and other items.[93] These are briefly discussed in distinction to royal kneeling statuary in the chapter on role.

Dynasties 28–30

No kneeling kings are known to date to the Persian Period. With the reassertion of native rule, the classical pose holding *nw* pots is found again in stone statuary after a seemingly long lapse:

Achoris

arms broken but probably holding vessels, diorite, 70 cm[94]

glazed stone, size?[95]

Also preserved are kneeling statues of Dynasty 29 and 30 kings holding other objects, including a fragmentary dark stone statue of Nepherites I from Buto holding an object with a conical/cylindrical form, and a diorite kneeling statue of Nectanebo II, restored in both ancient and modern times, which probably held an offering table.[96]

A kneeling bronze example with broken arms which seem to have held *maat*

[86] Turin, blue stone, from Heliopolis, size not known; unpublished, see Leahy, "Sculpture Review," p. 64.

[87] London 23320, identification of a photo in the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture.

[88] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1052 (Borchardt, *Statuen*), from Memphis, alabaster, H. 14 cm as preserved; Leahy, "sculpture Review," p. 65.

[89] Josephson, "Altered Head," p. 235; Müller, "Torso" focuses on this piece.

[90] *ESLP*, p. 16

[91] According to Bothmer as of 1985, "Bakenrenef," p. 102 n. 26. The count of known examples may, of course, have changed further since.

[92] Brooklyn 37.360E (LPPt-A), discussed somewhat further in the chapter on role; see Russmann, "Aspects," pp. 157–159.

[93] See Roeder pl. 47 e-h.

[94] Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 681 (see Borchardt, *Statuen*).

[95] British Museum 24247 (see Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 56 and pl. 43).

[96] For Nepherites I, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 87190, see Gabra, "Nepherites I." For Nectanebo II, Madrid, Prado 412E, from Tivoli, see Roullet, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing*, p. 105 no. 167a.

probably depicts Achoris (cat. 32, LPPt-20). Other bronze statuettes may date to the fourth century.

A sculptor's model may show a Late Period king in the running kneel pose.[97]

Ptolemaic Period

The base of a kneeling statue probably from Mendes is recorded for a king named Alexander, either the great or Son of Roxanne, but the arm position is not known.[98] And a very large statue preserved in Zagazig which depicts probably Ptolemy II/III (?) ought probably to be reconstructed as kneeling and holding something in front.[99] Another unnamed kneeling royal figure with palms upward on the lap forms one of a group with sacred animals in a limestone composition from Crocodilopolis, and is identified as probably the deified Amenemhat III.[100]

Some kneeling bronze kings can be assigned to the period, as discussed in the relevant chapter.

Also, at least one small kneeling wooden king perhaps originally holding *nw* pots or possibly another offering is known from the Thoth shrine at Tuna el-Gebel.[101]

Summary Remarks

The royal kneeling pose has a very long history; the classical pose showing the king holding *nw* pots is known from the Fourth Dynasty. The pose with *nw* pots is regularly used through the Middle Kingdom, reaches an apogee with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and then continues thereafter as one of a larger range of kneeling poses. This range continues through the Ptolemaic Period.

The private kneeling pose, which has its own rather intriguing history and can be seen to have a few periods of popularity and invention, has its earliest peak of popularity at the same moment as the classical royal pose, that is during the reign of Hatshepsut. Though its use is certainly different, the attention to the royal and the private pose at that convergence may reflect a new religious or ritual emphasis.

Interestingly the moment in which the classical royal pose flourishes is also the moment when a series of small kneeling bronze kings clearly emerges. Thereafter, the course of the two series diverge, bronzes continuing to develop the classical pose and subsequently other simplified poses, while stone statuary displays no such perceptible focus.

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97 Paris E11235; see Müller, "Torso," pl. 29 and 30, pp. 216–219, where he dates it to Dynasty 30. Paul Stanwick, who originally called this piece to my attention and felt at the time it was a possible Ptolemaic example, feels now that its proportions and appearance fit better in the Late Period.

98 Liverpool 13933, lost in 1940. The statue was black granite, height 29.2 cm; see De Meulenaere and MacKay, *Mendes* II, no. 56 on p. 198. I owe this and the following reference to Paul Stanwick. [See now Egyptian Archaeology 20 (2002) p. 29 for a kneeling headless Philip Arrhidaeus from Mendes.]

99 Zagazig 1411; see Myśliwiec, "Sculptor's School."

100 This unusual, originally rather fine, piece was published by Habachi, "Strange Monument."

101 Brooklyn 52.53, 12.4 cm, Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years*, p. 16 no. 17 and plate 33. Sotheby's London, March 18, 1957 sale catalog, lot 11, might be a similar piece, but is not illustrated.

APPENDIX 2:

PROVENANCE INDEX

Lower Egypt

Bubastis (Tell Basta), said to be: cat. 155
Hurbeit: cat. 138
Naukratis: cat. 65
Sag [sic!] el-Hagar: cat. 92
Sais (Sa el-Hagar), said to be: cat. 156
Shibin el-Qanatir (north of Heliopolis): cat. 10 (TIP-6)
Tanis (San el-Hagar): cat. 292 (LPPt-22); see also Sag [sic] el Hagar
Tanis, possibly: cat. 9 (TIP-3)
Tell Dafana or Tell Nabasha, possibly: cat. 187
Tell Gumaiyima: cat. 67
Tell Nabasha: cat. 66
Tukh el-Qaramus: cat. 96 (LPPt-25)

Memphis Area

Memphis, said to be: cat. 47, 53, 54, 123 (LPPt-9)
Mit Rahina: cat. 97 (LPPt-24)
Saqqara
- said to be: cat. 223 (K-15)
- SAN: cat. 29 (LPPt-14), 33 (LPPt-21), 98 (TIP-18), 99 (TIP-17), 100, 103 (LPPt-36), 121 (K-19), 195, 196 (LPPt-19)
- near Pyramid of Userkaf: cat. 289, 290
- Serapeum, said to be: cat. 88, 270
- Serapeum: cat. 28 (LPPt-16), 82, 83 (LPPt-2)

"near the pyramids," [Giza?] said to be: cat. 51 (LPPt-1), 52 (LPPt-31)

Middle Egypt

said to be: cat 15 (TIP-13)
Faiyum
- Ghurab: cat. 43 (NK-3)
- said to be Hawara: cat. 128, 129, 213
- Qasr el-Banat: cat. 285

Tuna el-Gebel: cat. 81

Upper Egypt

Deir el-Ballas: cat. 95
Hierakonpolis: cat. 85, 93, 94
Thebes
    presumably: cat. 8 (TIP-1)
    Deir el-Bahri, said to be: cat. 157 (silver)
    Karnak Cachette: cat. 69 (K-14)
    Luxor, said to be: cat. 11 (TIP-7), 49

Oases

Bahriya: cat. 42 (LPPt-18)

Kush/Meroe

Amentego (Dongola Province): cat. 149 (K-36)
Meroe City: cat. 60 (K-33)
Kawa
    Temple A: cat. 21 (K-9), 112 (K-22), 143 (K-27)
    Temple T: cat. 78 (K-24), 144 (K-28), 145 (K-30), 146 (K-29), 148 (K-31), 190 (K-23), 191 (K-37), 245 (K-32)
    Temple T?: cat. 114 (K-25)
    unspecified: cat. 147 (K-35)
Napata, Gebel Barkal, Temple B: cat. 68 (K-21)
Tabo, Argo Island: cat. 131 (K-34), 150 (K-26)

Levant

Byblos, said to be: cat. 241
Megiddo: cat. 5 (NK-7)

APPENDIX 3

TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF CAT. 242

This statuette was examined visually and using X-ray radiography, and elemental analysis was carried out on samples removed from the figure itself and from the base. As a result of these investigations, it is possible to cite aspects of manufacture and condition that support art historical evidence suggesting that both elements are modern. Each figure of this type would have been made using the lost wax technique, which produces casts that are unique, in spite of superficial similarities, and for this reason it is often difficult to isolate details of manufacture that are absolutely unimaginable in an ancient bronze. Features that thus far have not been observed in the corpus of cast statuary accepted on technical grounds to be authentic could be present in the next piece waiting to be examined. It is, therefore, in most instances, an accumulation of apparently unlikely details that signals a work of art as a forgery, rather than a single feature that definitively condemns it. In the present case, the likelihood that the figure is ancient is very small, and one need cite only a few major inconsistencies as compelling evidence in support of this conjecture.

Kneeling royal figures hold their arms extended or bent forward from the body. In hollow cast bronze examples, the arms generally were cast separately and then attached mechanically to the body with mortises and tenons. In this case, the radiographs indicate that the figure was cast in a single piece with a hollow body and solid arms and feet, and mounted on a separately cast, hollow base with three tangs that extend from its underside. There are certainly bronzes that have solid arms cast in a single piece with a hollow body, a circumstance often seen on standing or seated figures holding their arms close to their sides, but the characteristic shape of the core in bronzes of these types is not in evidence here, where, in fact, the core bulges into the upper arms. Additional radiographic evidence of the core's unusual form are areas of high radiopacity visible in frontal and side views of the head that correspond to unexplained thickenings of the walls.

At least four copper or copper alloy rods that pierce the walls and extend into the core can be observed as radiopaque lines in the radiographs. One rod starts at the underside of the statue just to the front of the feet and can be seen reaching at least as far as the height of the elbows. There are rods extending from each knee to mid-calf and one running through the chest from the back of the figure. The circular ends of three of these rods are visible on the surface: two on the knees and one on the back; access to the fourth is limited by the presence of the base. At least two more rods are present inside the hollow base. Measures taken to support the core during casting were varied and idiosyncratic until the Late Period, when such arrangements were more or less codified. The use of such large, round-section core supports precludes a date in the second half of the first millennium B.C., for by this time core supports were generally made from thin iron rods that for a variety of reasons were entirely

corroded during burial and appear in radiographs as very small, dark spots that are square or rectangular in shape. Even for a date earlier in the first millennium these core supports seem unlikely, and the presence of a round plug on the proper right side of the base is inconsistent with ancient Egyptian manufacture of any date.

An additional enigmatic feature is the permanent mounting of the figure on its base. As pointed out in the chapter discussing the role of kneeling royal figures, bases for this type are generally not preserved, with the suggestion that such statuettes belonged to ritual assemblages probably dismantled when not in the service of the cult. Other types of figural bronzes are found both with and without their original bases, but in the latter case they were secured to them with tangs held in place only by gravity, or a simple mechanical device, such as a pin; in this instance, molten metal has been poured in around the tangs on the top and bottom surfaces of the base, anchoring them irreversibly in place.

In addition to these structural features of manufacture incongruous with an ancient attribution, evidence based on elemental analyses using energy dispersive X-ray spectroscopy speaks strongly for a modern origin of this royal figure: both the figure itself and the base were cast from nearly pure copper, with only a trace of iron, a composition virtually unknown for authentic Egyptian statuary of this date.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden
ASAE	*Annales de la Service des Antiquités d'Egypte*
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London
BdE	Bibliothéque d'étude, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BMA	*Brooklyn Museum Annual*
BMFA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt (and Egyptian Research Account)
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
CdE	*Chronique d'Egypte*
CGC	Catalog Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CLES	Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture (photographic archive at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn, New York)
DAI	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund, London
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London
EM	Egyptological Memoirs, Styx/Brill, Groningen/Leiden
ESLP	Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, W. Helck, E. Otto and W. Westendorf (eds.) (Wiesbaden, 1972–1992)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo*
Mémoires	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'IFAO
MJbK	*Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*
MMAB	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
MMJ	*Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Peeters, Leuven
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen, Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden*
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie, Brill, Leiden
PM	B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss and others, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.* 8 vol-

	umes. PM followed by numbers in the form 800[801]–000–000 refers to designations in volume 8, see author Malek.
RdE	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Orientverlag, Heidelberg
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg
SE	Studies in Egyptology, Keegan-Paul International, London
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, Berlin

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PLATES

PLATE 1



Cat. 128

PLATE 2



Thutmose III. NK-1 (cat. 1)

PLATE 3



Thutmose IV. NK-2 (cat. 2)

PLATE 4



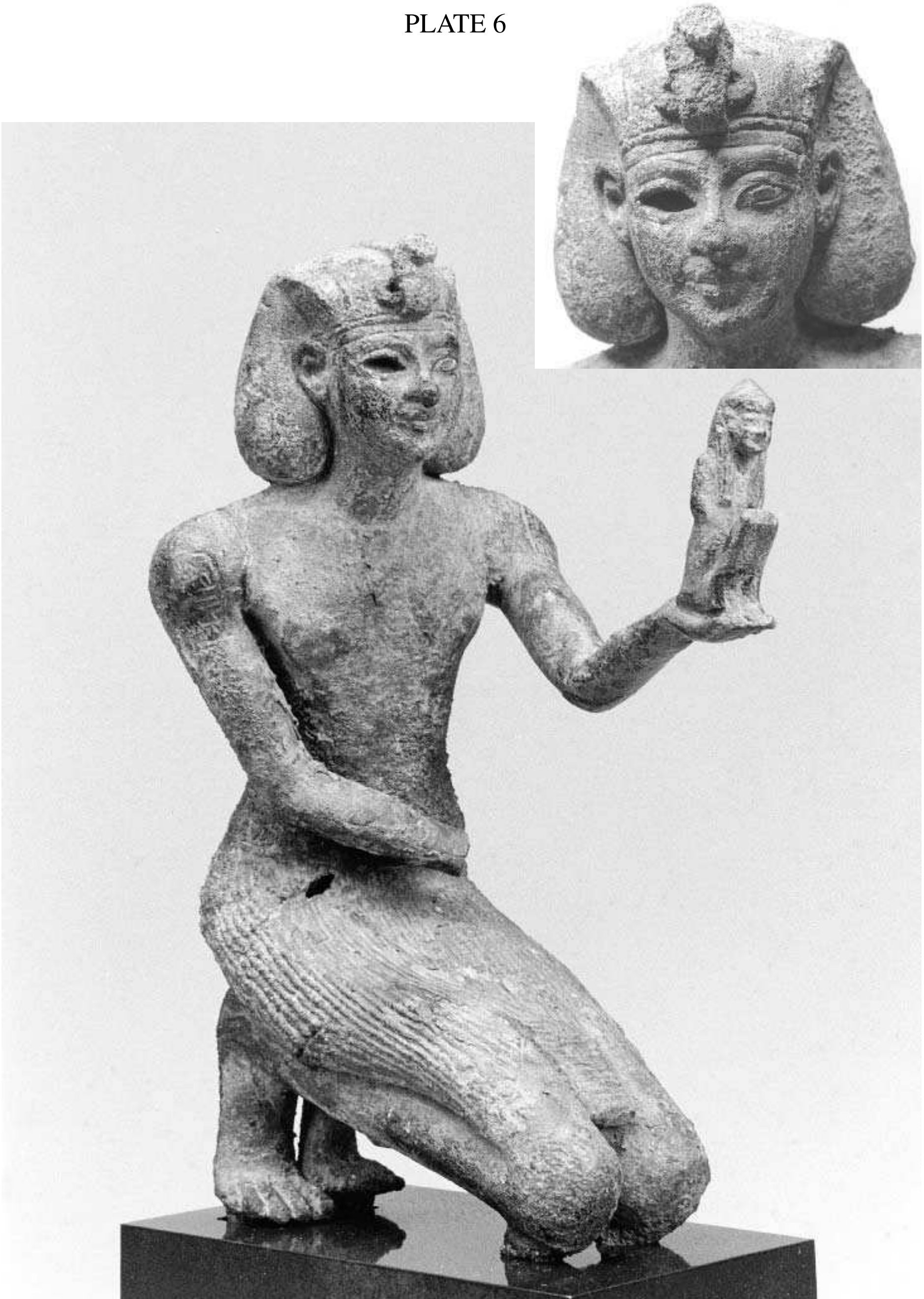
left, detail of gold staff of Tutankhamun; right, NK-3 (cat. 43)

PLATE 5



NK-4 (cat. 284)

PLATE 6



Ramesses II. NK-5 (cat. 3)

PLATE 7



High Priest Menkheperre. TIP-1 (cat. 8)



Sphinx of Menkheperre. TIP-2 (cat. 7)

PLATE 9



TIP-4 (cat. 238)

PLATE 10



Smendes. TIP-5 (cat. 206)

PLATE 11



Osorkon I. TIP-6 (cat. 10)

PLATE 12



Osorkon II triad. TIP-A

PLATE 13



detail of Karomama. TIP-B

PLATE 14

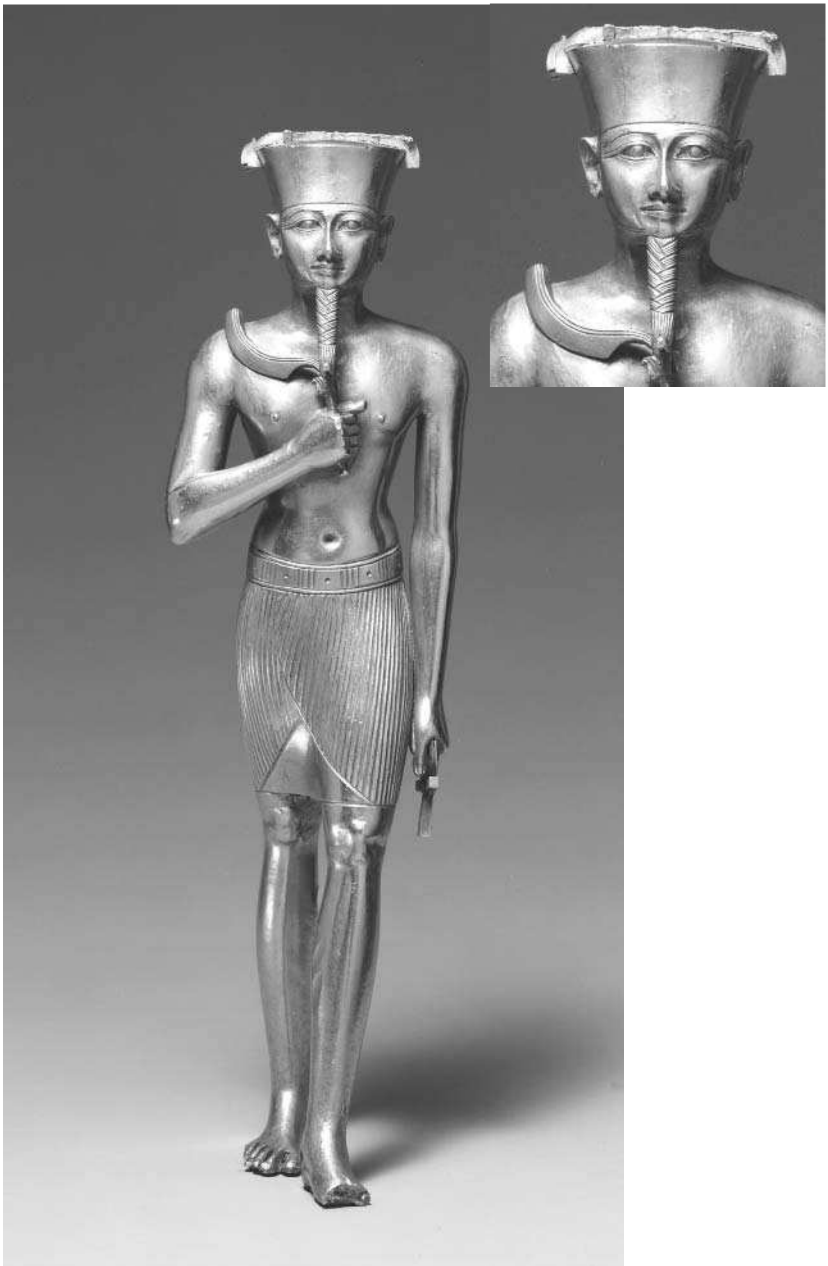



Silver king. TIP-C



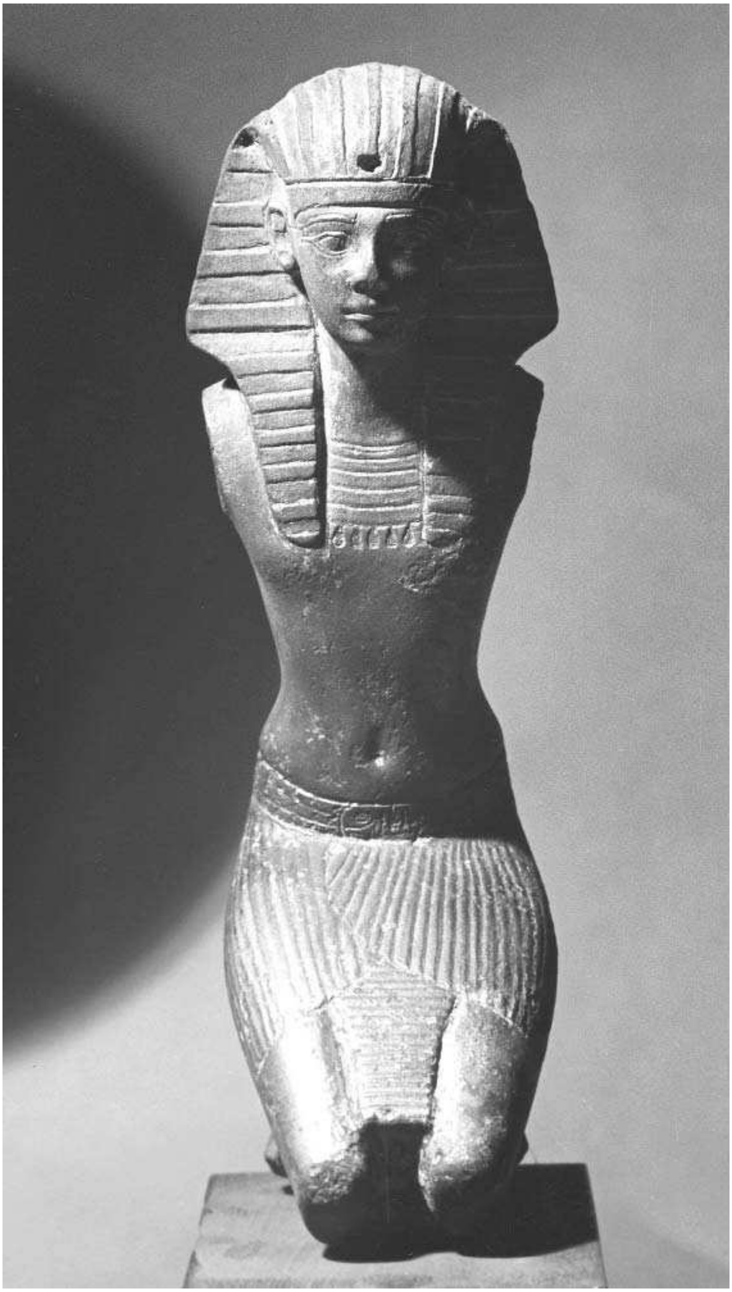
Usermaatre Sotepenimen. TIP-7 (cat. 11)

PLATE 16



Gold Amun. TIP-D

PLATE 17



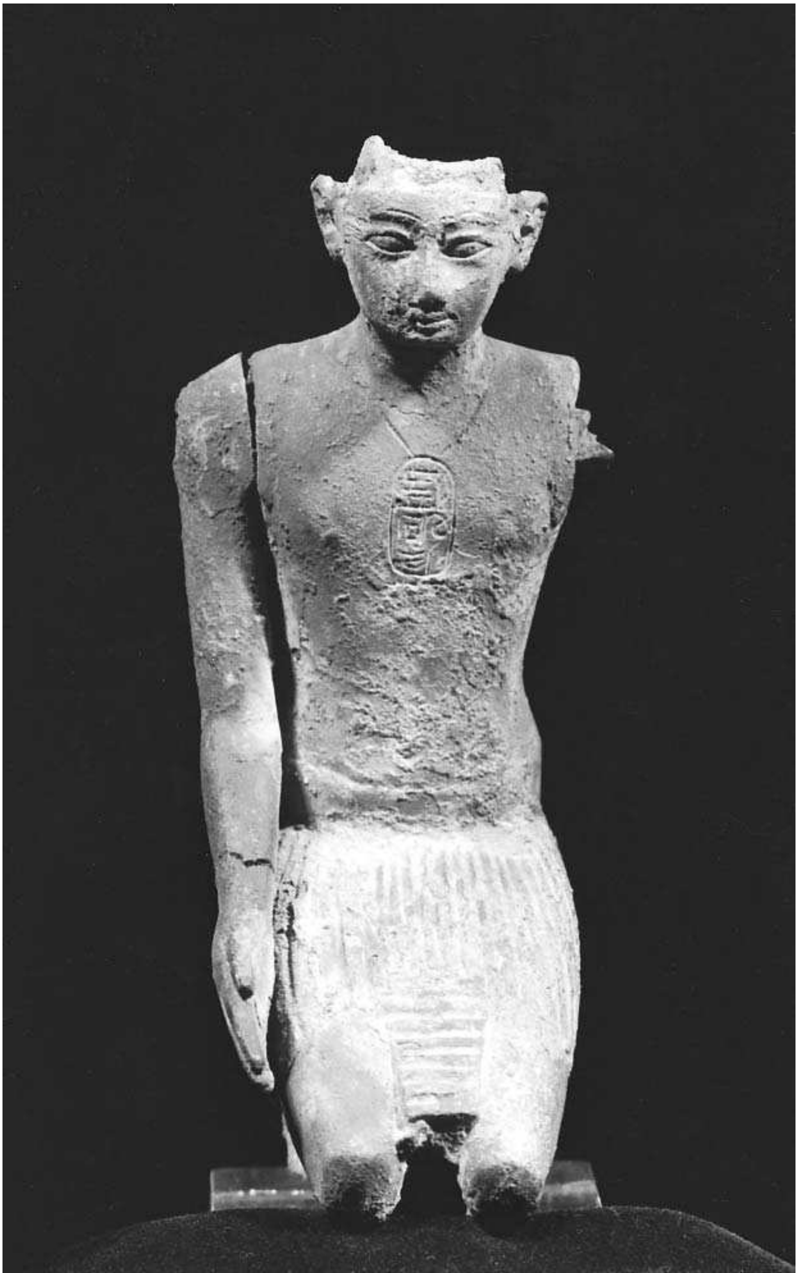
Usermaatre Sotepenimen. TIP-8 (cat. 44)

PLATE 18



Pedubaste. TIP-9 (cat. 12)

PLATE 19



Osorkon Meriamun. TIP-10 (cat. 237)

PLATE 20



Pami. TIP-11 (cat. 13)

PLATE 21



Sheshonq V. TIP-12 (cat. 14)

PLATE 22



Takushit. TIP-F



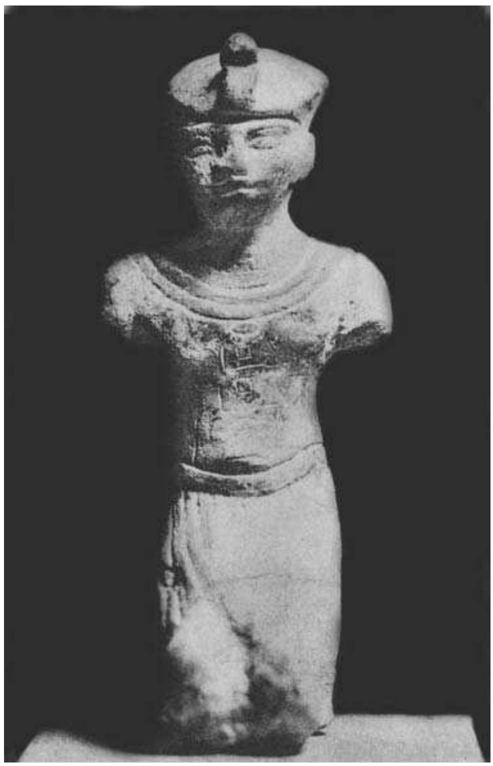
Peftjaubast. TIP-13 (cat. 15)

PLATE 24



TIP-14 (cat. 34)

PLATE 25

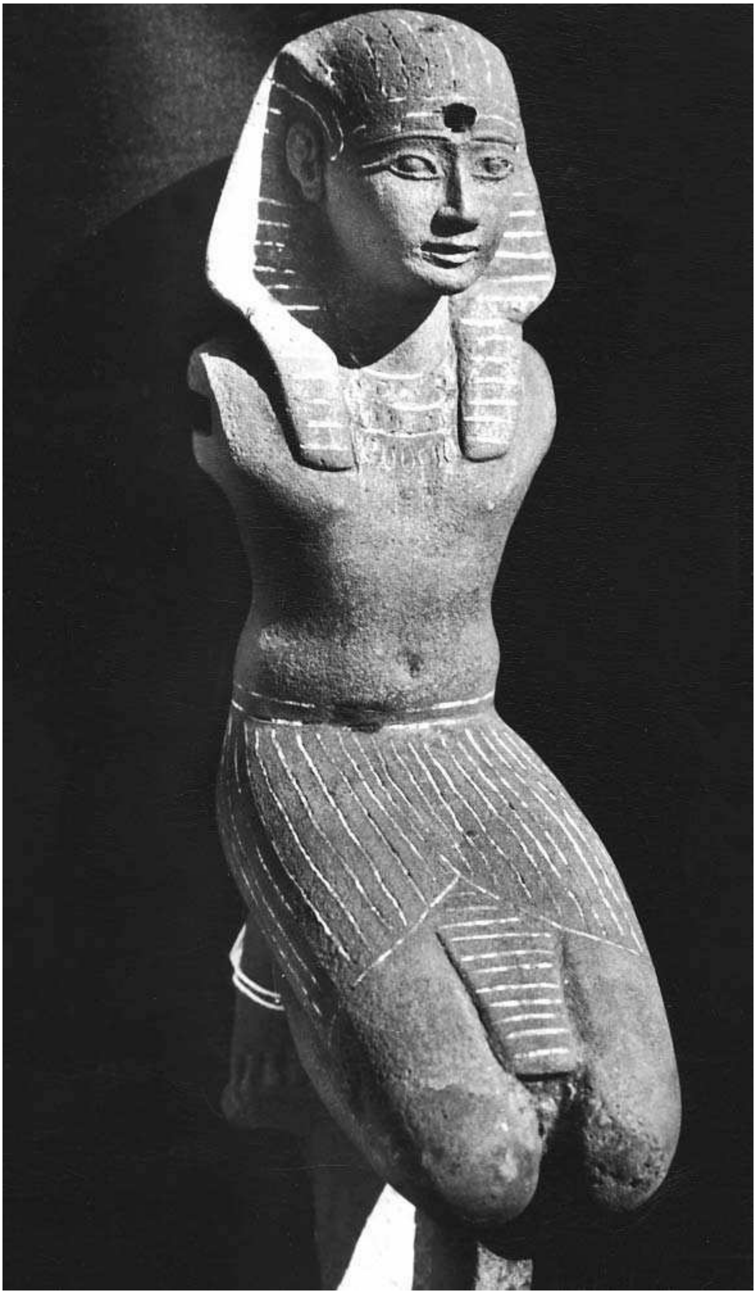


Pedise TIP-15 (cat. 16)



TIP-17 (cat. 99)

PLATE 27



TIP-18 (cat. 98)



TIP-19 (cat. 301)

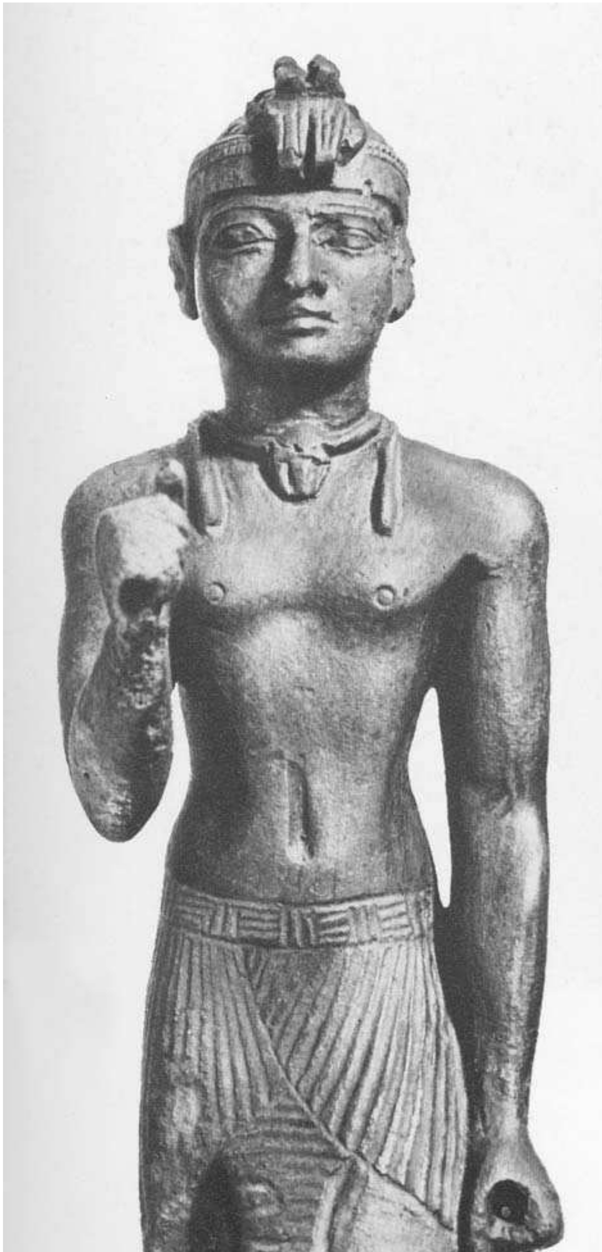


Shabaqo. K-1 (cat. 17)

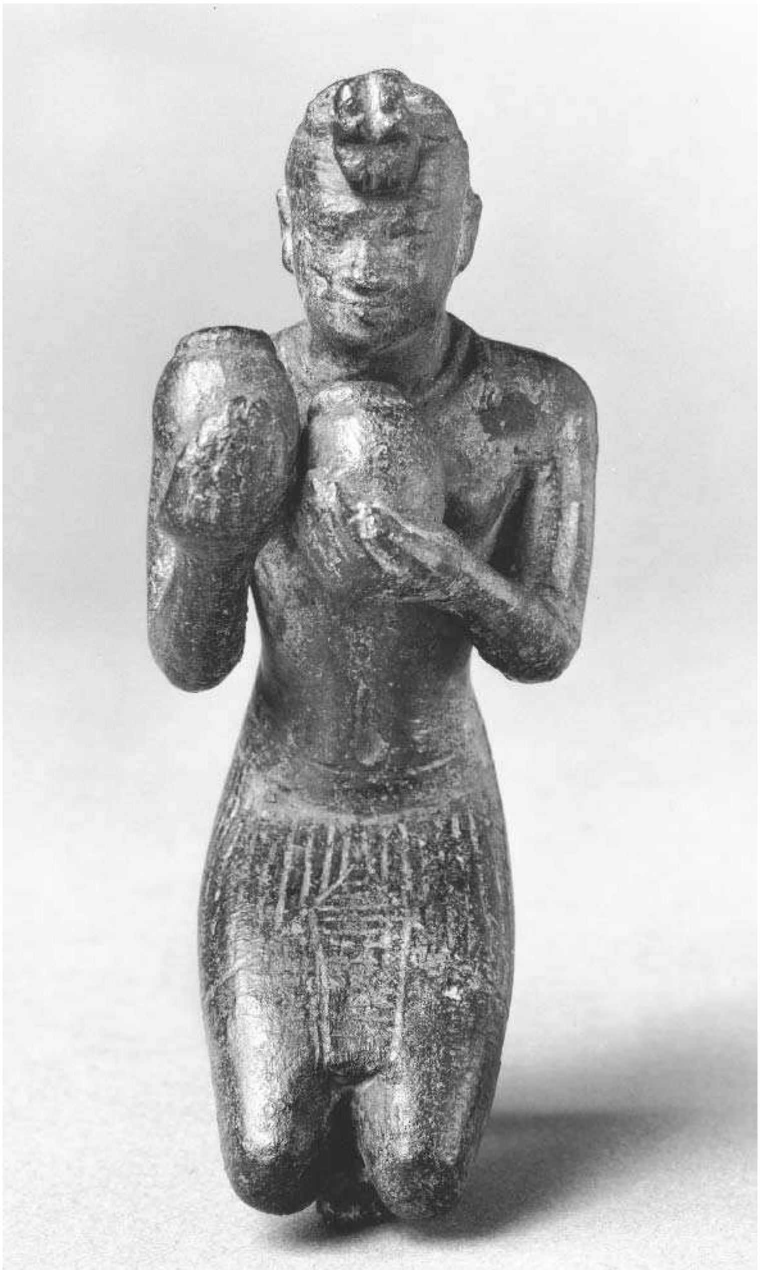
PLATE 30



Probable Shabaqo, green stone.



K-2 (cat. 287)



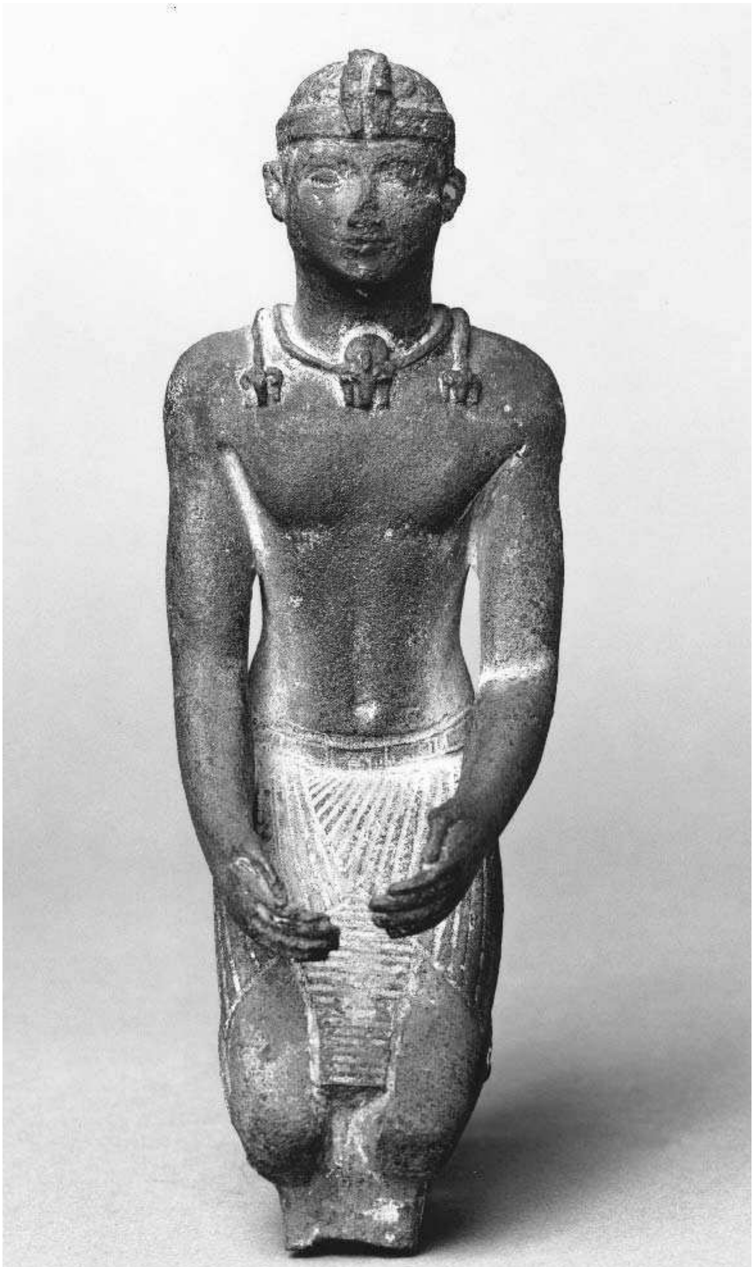
K-3 (cat. 113)

PLATE 33



Taharqo. K-4 (cat. 22)

PLATE 34



Taharqo. K-5 (cat. 20)



K-6 (cat. 243)



Taharqo. K-7 (cat. 19)



K-8 (cat. 62)



Taharqo. K-9 (cat. 21)



Taharqo. K-10 (cat. 23)

PLATE 40



K-11 (cat. 72)

PLATE 41



“Psamtik.” K-13 (cat. 36)

PLATE 42



K-14 (cat. 69)



K-16 (cat. 224)



K-18 (cat. 255)



K-21 (cat. 68)

PLATE 46





K-22 (cat. 112) and K-25 (cat. 114)

PLATE 47

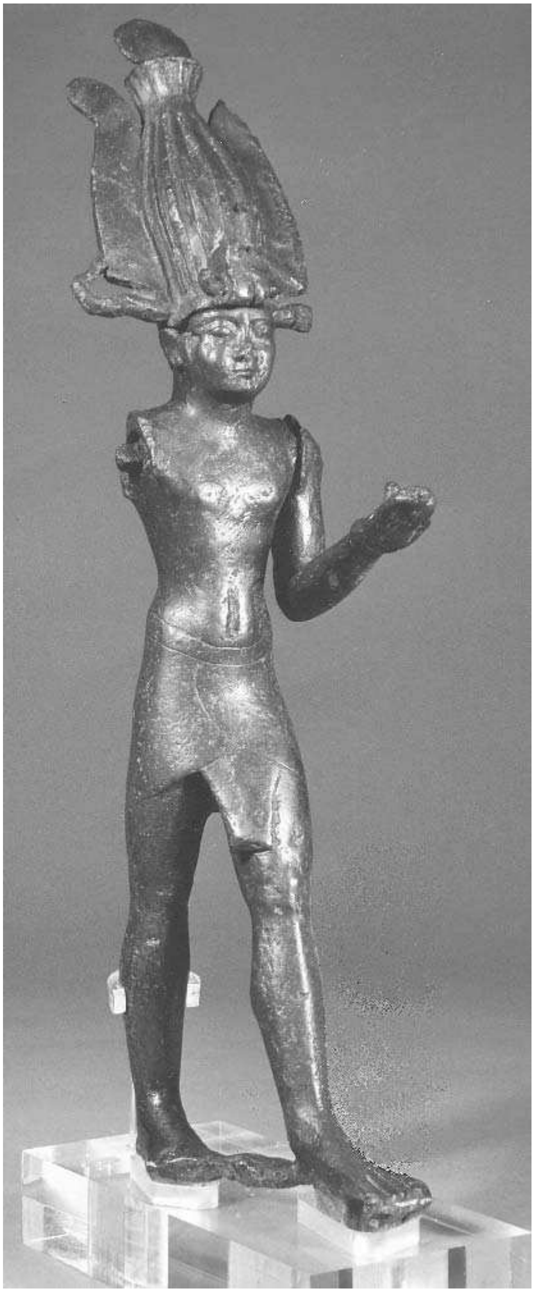


K-23 (cat. 190)



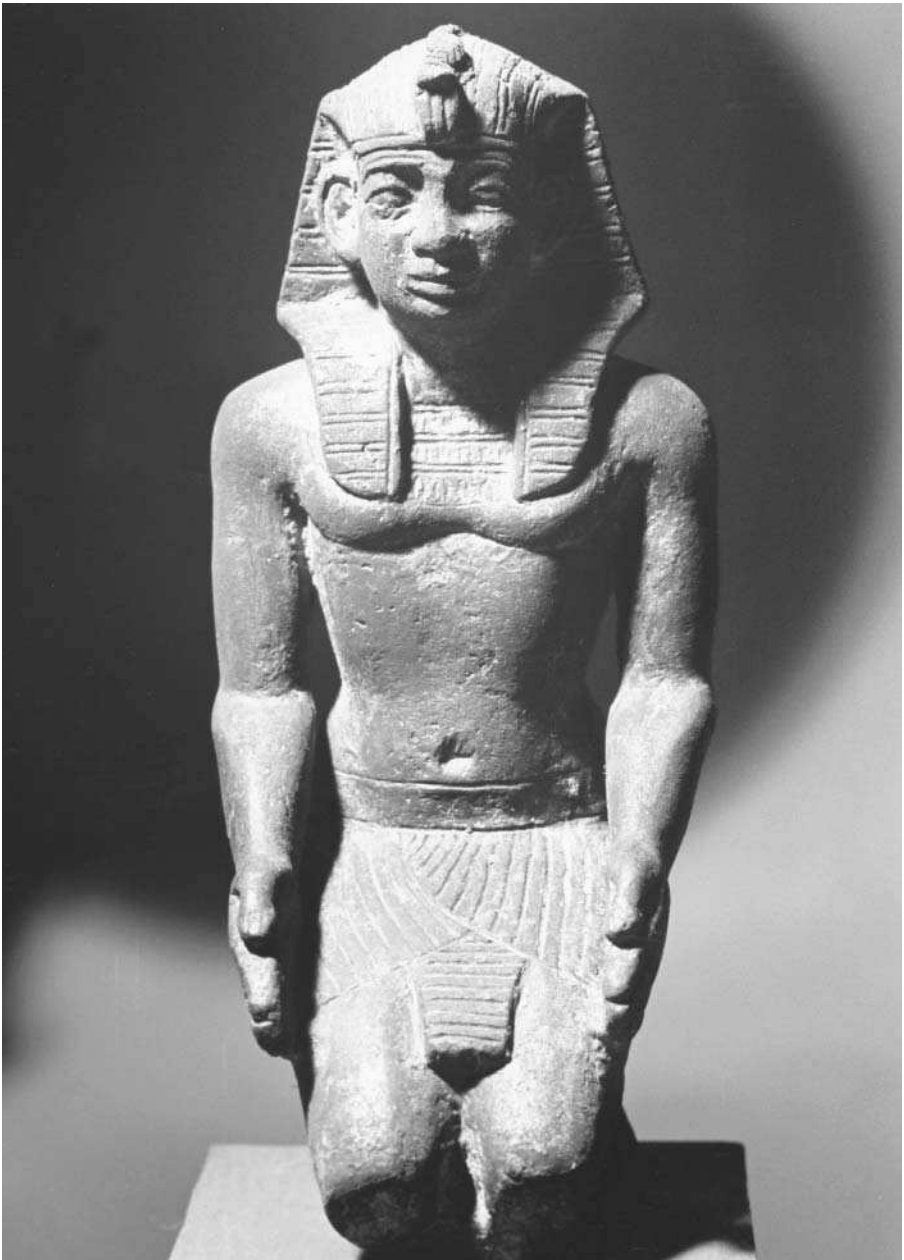
K-46 (cat. 109)

PLATE 49



K-45 (cat. 102)

PLATE 50



LPPt-1 (cat. 51)

PLATE 51



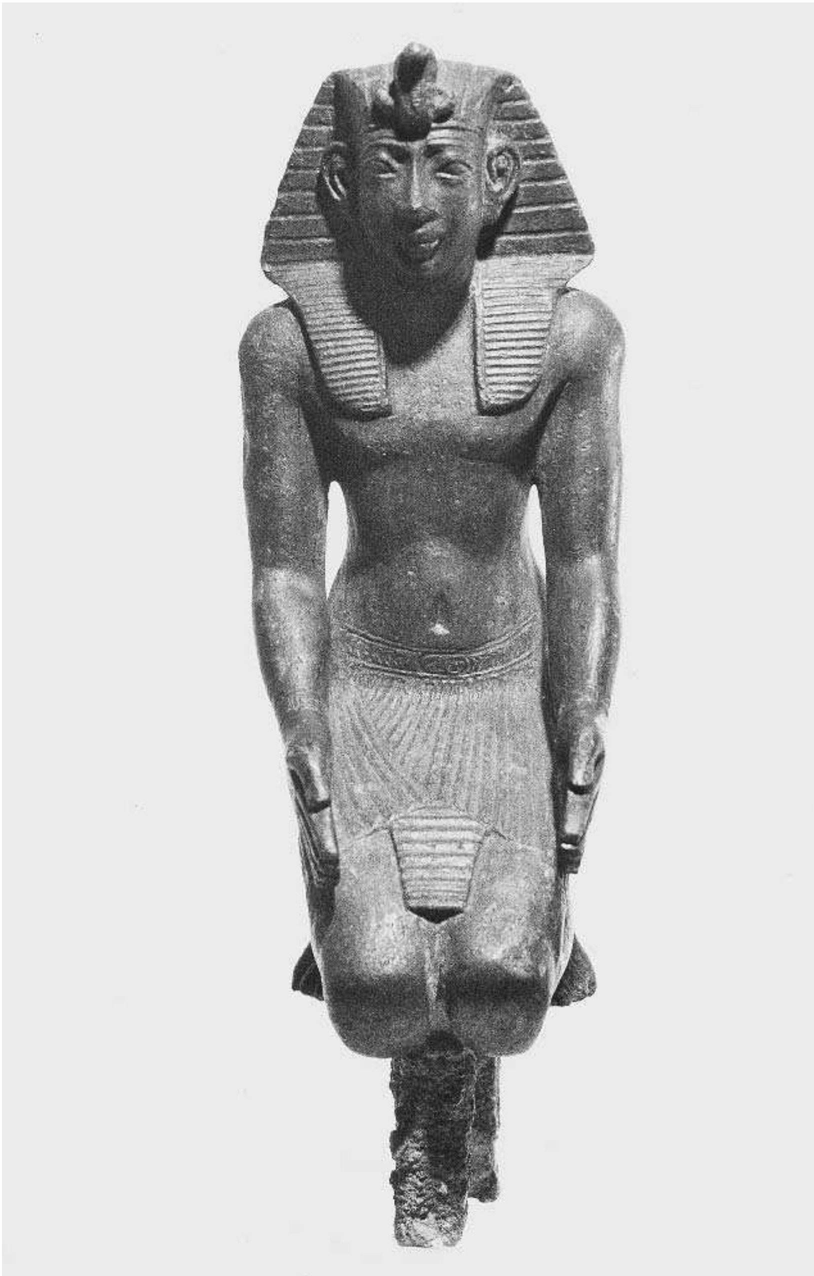
LPPt-B

PLATE 52



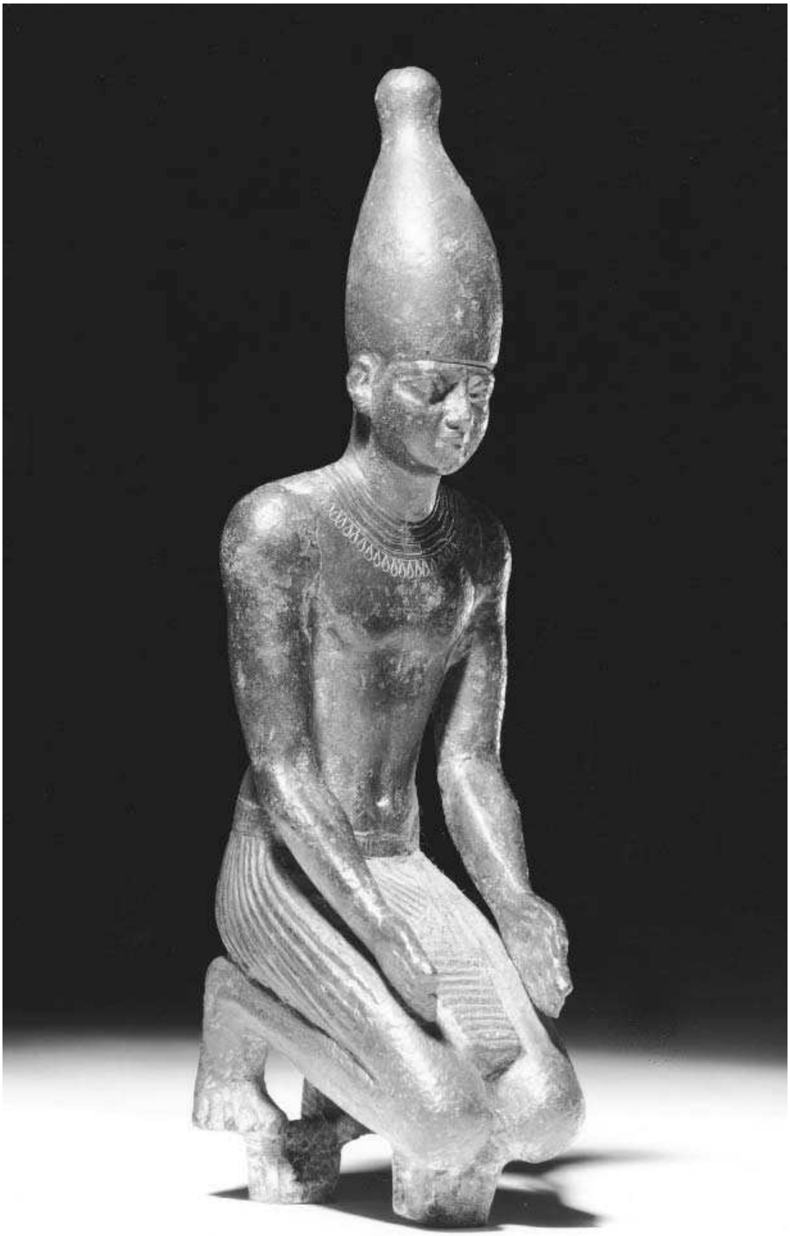
Necho. LPPt-4 (cat. 24)

PLATE 53



Necho. LPPt-5 (cat. 25)

PLATE 54



LPPt-6 (cat. 127)

PLATE 55



LPPt-7 (cat. 298)



LPPt-8 (cat. 212)



LPPt-9 (cat. 123) and LPPt-10 (cat. 124)

PLATE 58



Apries. LPPt-11 (cat. 27)

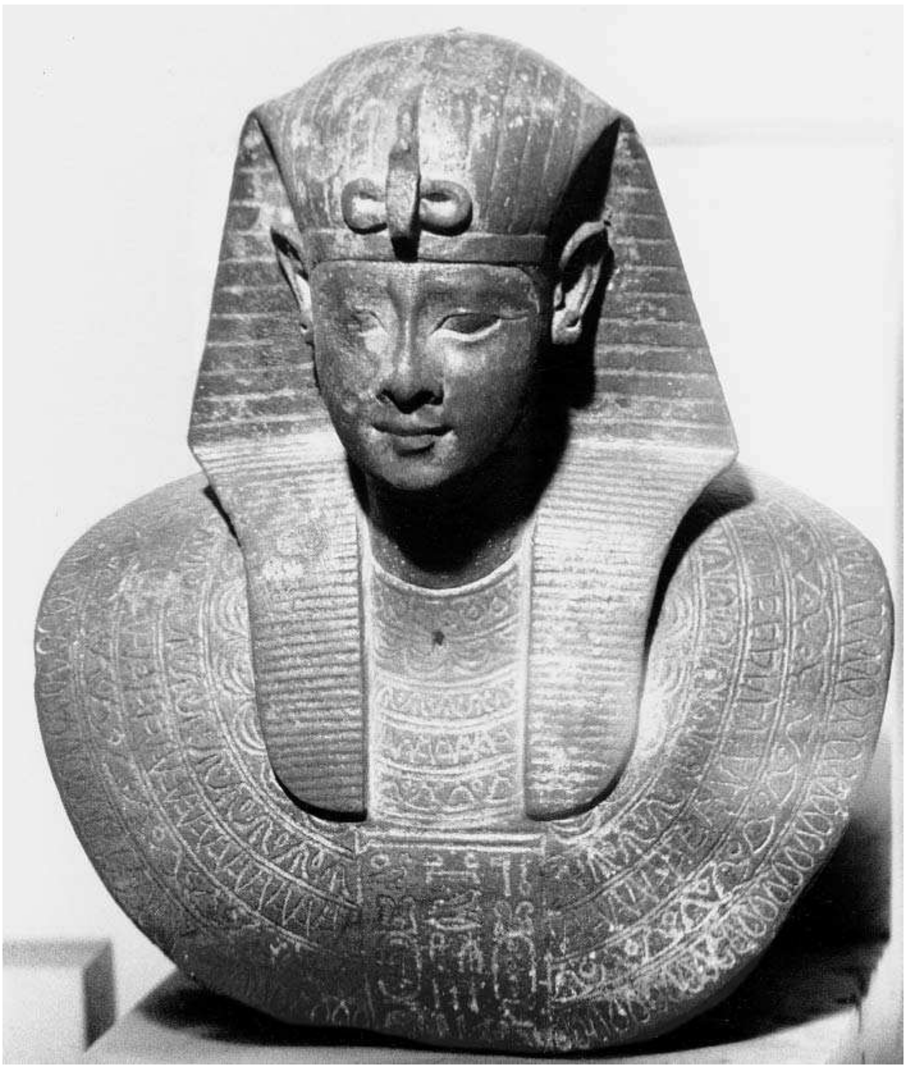


Apries. LPPt-12 (cat. 26)

PLATE 60

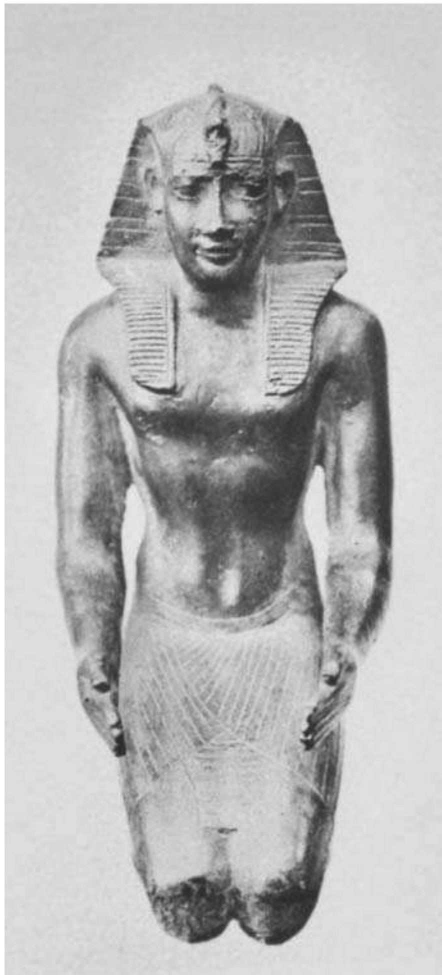


Amasis. LPPt-15 (cat. 31)



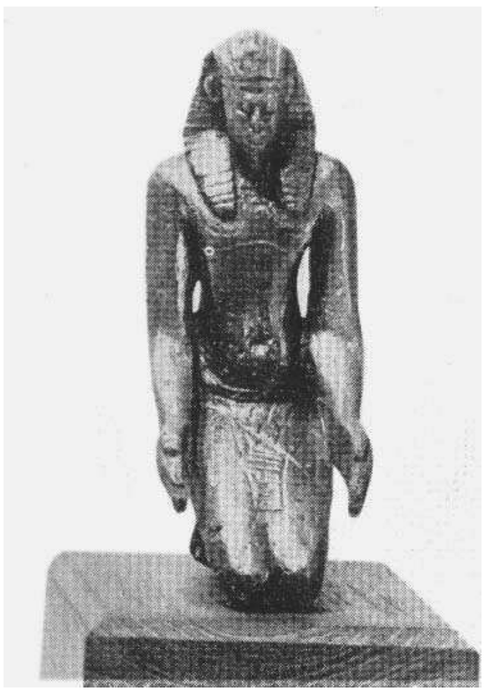
Amasis. LPPt-16 (cat. 28)

PLATE 62



LPPt-17 (cat. 249)

PLATE 63



LPPt-18 (cat. 42)

PLATE 64

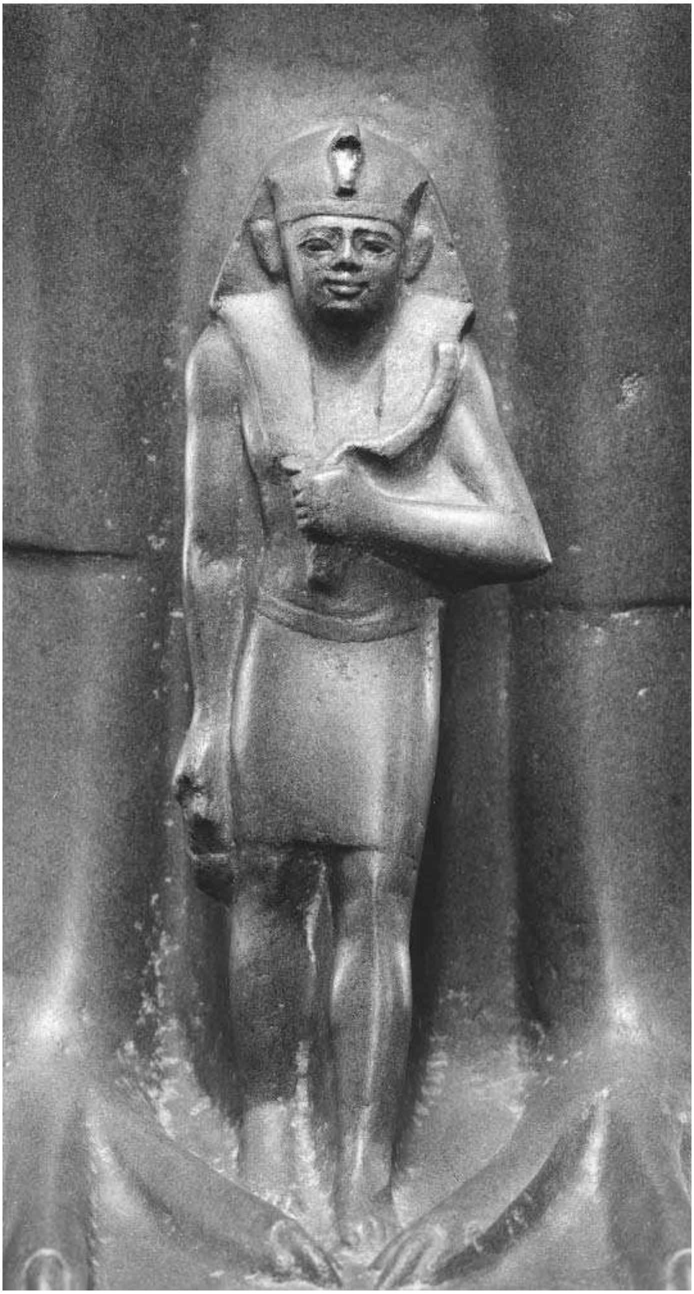


LPPt-19 (cat. 196)



Achoris. LPPt-20 (cat. 32)

PLATE 66



Detail of Nectanebo II in falcon statue, graywacke



Nectanebo II. LPPt-21 (cat. 33)



LPPt-23 (cat. 193)

PLATE 69



LPPt-24 (cat. 97)



LPPt-25 (cat. 96)

PLATE 71



LPPt-26 (cat. 240)

PLATE 72



LPPt-27 (cat. 203)

PLATE 73



LPPt-28 (cat. 59)

PLATE 74



LPPt-29 (cat. 91)

PLATE 75



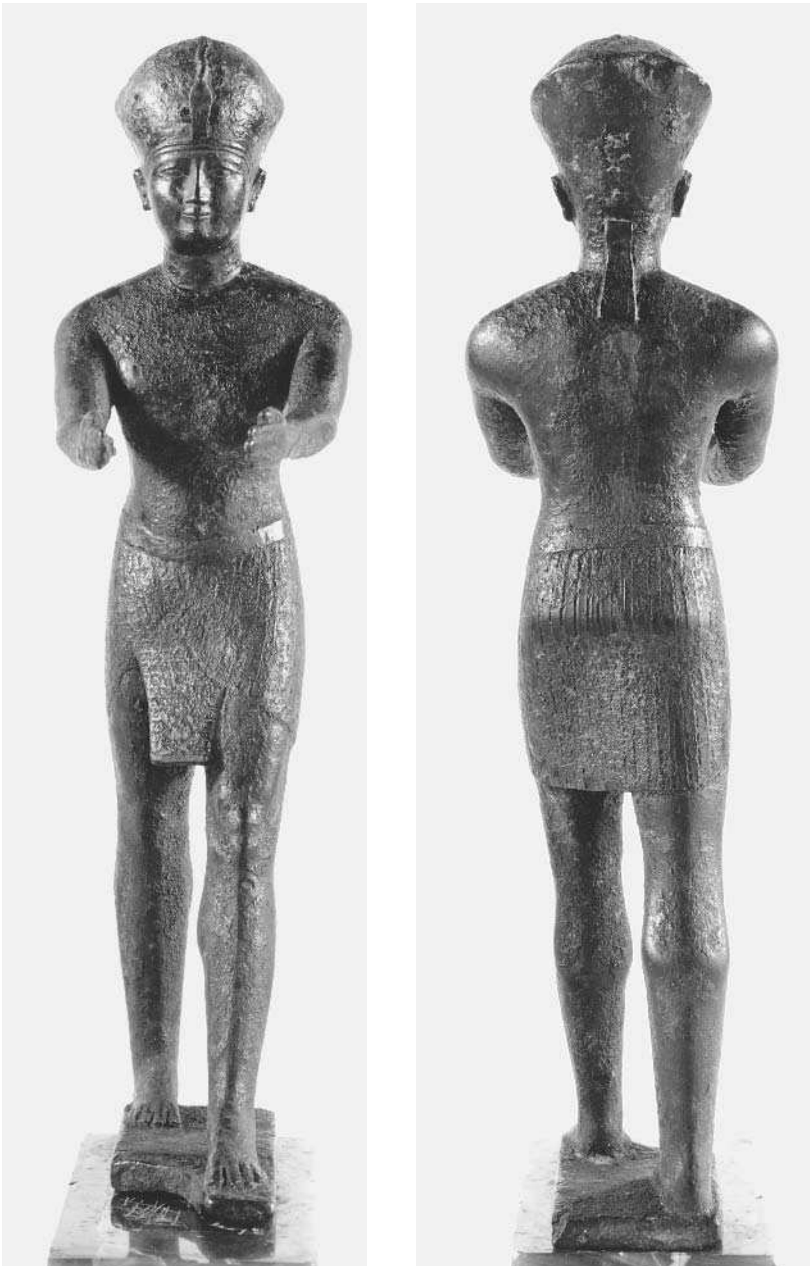
LPPt-30 (cat. 73)

PLATE 76



LPPt-31 (cat. 52)

PLATE 77



LPPt-33 (cat. 268)



LPPt-34 (cat. 130)





LPPt-35 (cat. 201)



LPPt-36 (cat. 103)

PLATE 81



Roman: cat. 189

PLATE 82



Not Ancient, see Appendix 3. (cat. 242)